



Rich. Hurst June 16. 1629 p.

1st - Rose

John Bunsell
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THE END OF THE WORLD



John Payne sculpsit.

THE
HISTORIE
OF THE RAIGNE
OF KING
HENRY
The Seuenth.

Written
By the Right Honourable,
FRANCIS,
Lord Verulam, Viscount
St. Alban.

LONDON,
Printed by W. Stansby for M. Mathew
Lownes, and William
Barret.

1 6 2 2.

1872



TO THE MOST
ILLVSTRIOVS AND
MOST EXCELLENT
PRINCE,

CHARLES,

Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*,

Earle of *Chester*, &c.

It may Please Your Highnesse,



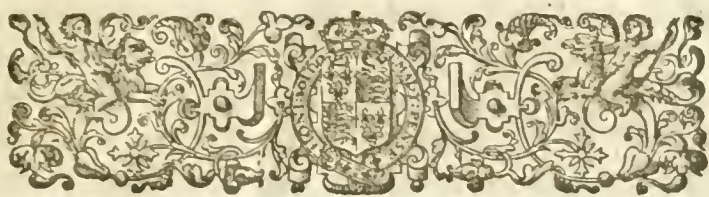
N part of my ac-
knowledgment to
Your Highnesse,
I haue endeauou-
red to doe *Honour*
to the *Memorie* of
the last *King* of
England, that was
Ancestour to the
King your *Father*, and *Your selfe*; and was
that *King* to whom both *Unions* may in a
fort

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

fort referre: That of the *Roses* beeing in him Consummate, and that of the *Kingdomes* by him begunne. Besides, his *Times* deserue it. For hee was a *Wise Man*, and an *Excellent King*; and yet the *Times* were rough, and full of Mutations, and rare Accidents. And it is with *Times*, as it is with *Ways*. Some are more *Up-hill* and *Down-bill*, and some are more *Flat* and *Plaine*; and the *One* is better for the *Liuer*, and the *Other* for the *Writer*. I haue not flattered him, but tooke him to life as well as I could, sitting so farre of, and hauing no better light. It is true, *Your Highnesse* hath a *Liying Patterne*, *Incomparable*, of the *King* your *Father*. But it is not amisse for *You* also to see one of these Ancient *Pieces*. God preferue *Your Highnesse*.

*Your Highnesse most humble and
devoted Seruant,*

Francis St. Alban.



T H E
H I S T O R I E
O F T H E R A I G N E
O F K I N G H E N R Y
the Seuenth.



After that RICHARD the third of that name, King in fact onely, but Tyrant both in Title and Regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all times since, was by the *Diuine Reuenge*, fauouring the designe of an Exilde-man, ouerthrowne and slaine at *Bosworth-field*: There succeeded in the Kingdome the Earle of *Richmond*, thence-forth stiled HENRY the Seuenth. The King immediately after the Victorie, as one that had beene bred vnder a deuour Mother, and was in his nature, a great Obseruer of religious formes, caused *Te Deum laudamus* to be solemnely sung in the presence of the whole Armie vpon the place, and was himselfe with generall applause, and great Cries of Ioy, in a kind of *Militar Election*, or *Recognition*, saluted King. Meane-while the body

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of

of RICHARD after many indignities and reproches (the *Dirigies* and *Obsequies* of the common people towards *Tyrants*) was obscurely buried. For though the King of his noblenesse gaue charge vnto the *Friers* of *Leicester* to see an honourable interrment to be giuen to it, yet the *Religious People* themselues (being not free from the humours of the *Vulgar*) neglected it; wherein neuerthelesse they did not then incurre any mans blame or censure. No man thinking any ignominie or contumely vnworthy of him, that had beene the Executioner of King HENRY the Sixth (that innocent Prince) with his owne hands; the Contriuier of the death of the Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother; the Murderer of his two *Nephewes* (one of them his lawfull King in the Present, and the other in the Future, sayling of him) and vehemently suspected to haue beene the Impoisoner of his Wife, thereby to make vacant his Bed, for a Marriage within the *Degrees forbidden*. And although he were a Prince in Militar vertue approued, jealous of the honour of the *English Nation*, and likewise a good *Law-maker*, for the ease and solace of the common people: yet his Cruelties and Parricides in the opinion of al men, weighed downe his Vertues and Merits; and in the opinion of wise men, euen thole Vertues themselues were conceiued to be rather fained, and *Affected* things to serue his Ambition, then true *Qualities* ingenerate in his Iudgement or Nature. And therefore it was noted by men of great vnderstanding (who seeing his after Acts, looked backe vpon his former Proceedings) that euen in the time of King EDWARD his Brother, he was not without secret *Traines* and *Mines* to turne Enuie and Hatred vpon his Brothers Gouvernement; as hauing an Expectation and a kind of Diuination, that the King, by reason of his many disorders, could not be of long life, but was like to leaue his

his Sonnes of tender yeares ; and then he knew well, how easie a step it was, from the place of a *Protector*, and first *Prince* of the *Bloud* , to the Crowne. And that out of this deepe roote of Ambition it sprang, that aswell at the Treatie of peace that passed betweene EDWARD the Fourth, and LEWIS the Eleuenth of *France*, concluded by Enteruiew of both Kings at *Piqueny*, as vpon all other Occasions, RICHARD then Duke of *Glocester*, stood euer vpon the side of Honour, raising his owne Reputation to the disaduantage of the King his Brother, and drawing the eyes of all (especially of the *Nobles* and *Souldiers*) vpon himselfe ; as if the King by his voluptuous life and meane marriage, were become effeminate and lesse sensible of Honour, and Reason of State, then was fit for a King. And as for the Politique and wholesome *Lawes* which were enacted in his time, they were interpreted to be but the Brocage of an *Ursurper* , thereby to wooe, and winne the hearts of the people, as being conscious to himselfe that the true obligations of *Soueraigntie* in him failed, and were wanting. But King HENRY in the very entrance of his Reigne, and the instant of time, when the Kingdome was cast into his Armes, met with a Point of great difficultie, and knotty to solue, able to trouble and confound the wisest King in the newnesse of his Estate ; and so much the more, because it could not endure a *Deliberation*, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent in his Person, three seuerall *Titles* to the Imperiall Crowne. The first, the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom, by precedent Pact with the Partie that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed Title (both by *Plea*, and *Armes*) of the House of *Lancaster*, to which he was Inheritour in his owne Person. The third, the

Title of the *Sword* or *Conquest*, for that he came in by victorie of Battaille, and that the King in possession was slaine in the Field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to giue contentment to the People, who by two and twentie yeares Reigne of King EDWARD the Fourth, had beene fully made capable of the clearnesse of the Title of the *White-Rose* or House of *Yorke*; and by the milde and plausible Reigne of the same King toward his Latter time, were become affectionate to that *Line*. But then it lay plaine before his Eyes, that if he relied vpon that *Title*, he could be but a *King* at *Curtesie*, and haue rather a *Matrimoniall* then a *Regall* power: the right remayning in his *Queene*, vpon whose decease, either with Issue, or without Issue, he was to giue place, and be remoued. And though hee should obtaine by *Parliament* to bee continued, yet hee knew there was a very great difference betweene a King that holdeth his Crowne by a will Act of *Estates*, and one that holdeth it originally by the Law of *Nature*, and descent of Bloud. Neither wanted there euen at that time secret Rumours and whisperings (which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great troubles) that the two young Sonnes of King EDWARD the Fourth, or one of them (which were said to be destroyed in the Tower) were not indeed murdered but conueyed secretly away, and were yet liuing: which if it had beene true, had preuented the Title of the Lady ELIZABETH. On the other side, if he stood vpon his owne Title of the House of *Lancaster*, inherent in his Person; hee knew it was a Title condemned by *Parliament*, and generally preiudged in the common opinion of the Realme, and that it tended directly to the disinherison of the Line of *Yorke*, held then the indubitate Heires of the Crowne. So that if he should haue no Issue by the Lady ELIZABETH, which should bee

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Descendents of the *Double-Line*, then the ancient flames of Discord and intestine Warres vpon the Competition of both Houses, would againe returne and reuiue.

As for *Conquest* notwithstanding, Sir WILLIAM STANLEY, after some acclamations of the Souldiers in the Field, had put a Crowne of ornament (which RICHARD wore in the Battaile, and was found amongst the Spoiles) vpon King HENRIES head, as if there were his chiefe Title; yet he remembered well vpon what Conditions and Agreements hee was brought in, and that to claime as *Conquerour*, was to put aswell his owne Partic, as the rest, into Terror and Feare; as that which gaue him power of disanulling of Lawes, and disposing of Mens Fortunes and Estates, and the like points of absolute power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that WILLIAM himselfe, commonly called the *Conquerour*, howsoever he vsed and exercised the power of a *Conquerour* to reward his *Normans*, yet he forbare to vse that Claime in the beginning, but mixed it with a Titularie pretence grounded vpon the *Will* and designation of EDWARD the *Confessor*. But the King out of the greatnesse of his owne minde, presently cast the Die, and the inconueniences appearing vnto him on all parts; and knowing there could not be any *Interreigne* or suspension of Title; and preferring his affection to his owne Line and Bloud, and liking that Title best which made him independent; and being in his Nature and constitution of minde not very apprehensieue or forecasting of future Euentis a-farre off, but an Intertainer of Fortune by the Day; resolved to rest vpon the Title of *Lancaster* as the *Maine*, and to vse the other two, that of *Marriage*, and that of *Battaile*, but as *Supporters*, the one to appease secret Discontents, and the other to beate downe open murmur and dispute: not
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forgetting that the same Title of *Lancaster* had formerly maintayned a possession of three Discents in the Crowne, and might haue proued a *Perpetuitie*, had it not ended in the weaknesse and inabilitie of the last Prince. Whereupon the King presently that very day, being the two and twentieth of August, assumed the Stile of King in his owne name, withour mention of the Lady *ELIZABETH* at all, or any relation thereunto. In which course hee euer after persisted, which did spin him a threed of many seditions and troubles. The King full of these thoughts, before his departure from *Leicester*, di'spatched Sir *ROBERT WILLOUGHBY* to the Castle of *Sheriff-Hutton* in *Yorke-shire*, where were kept in safe custodie by King *RICHARDS* commandement, both the Lady *ELIZABETH* daughter of King *EDWARD*, and *EDWARD PLANTAGENET*, Sonne and Heire to *GEORGE* Duke of *Clarence*. This *EDWARD* was by the Kings warrant deliuered from the Constable of the Castle to the hand of Sir *ROBERT WILLOUGHBY*; and by him with all safetie and diligence conueyed to the Tower of *London*, where he was shut vp *Cloſe-Prisoner*. Which Act of the Kings (being an Act meere of Policie and Power) proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of Doctor *Shawes* tale at *Paules Crosse*, for the bastarding of *EDWARD* the Fourths Issues, in which case this young Gentleman was to succeed (for that Fable was euer exploded) but vpon a settled disposition to depresse all Eminent persons of the Line of *rorke*. Wherein still the King out of strength of Will, or weaknesse of Iudgement did vse to shew a little more of the *Partie*, then of the *King*.

For the Lady *ELIZABETH* shee receiued also a direction to repaire with all conuenient speed to *London*, and there to remaine with the Queene *Do-*

wager

wager her Mother; which accordingly shee soone after did, accompanied with many *Noble-men* and *Ladies* of Honour. In the meane season the King set forwards by easie iourneys to the Citie of *London*, receiving the Acclamations and Applauses of the People as he went, which indeed were true and vnfained, as might well appeare in the very Demonstrations and Fulnesse of the Crie. For they thought generally that hee was a *Prince* as ordayned and sent downe from Heauen, to vnite and put to an end the long dissensions of the two Houses; which although they had had in the times of HENRY the Fourth, HENRY the Fifth, and a part of HENRY the Sixth on the one side, and the times of EDWARD the Fourth on the other, *Lucide-intervals* and happy Pauses; yet they did cuer hang ouer the *Kingdome*, readie to breake forth into new Perturbations and Calamities. And as his victorie gaue him the *Knee*, so his purpose of marriage with the Lady ELIZABETH, gaue him the *Heart*; so that both *Knee* and *Heart* did truely bow before him.

He on the other side with great wisedome (not ignorant of the affections and feares of the people) to disperse the conceit and terrour of a *Conquest*, had giuen order that there should be nothing in his iourney like vnto a warlike March, or manner: but rather like vnto the *Progresse* of a King in full peace and assurance.

Hee entred the Citie vpon a *Saturday*, as hee had also obtayned the Victorie vpon a *Saturday*; which day of the Weeke first vpon an Obseruation, and after vpon Memorie and Fancie, hee accounted and chose as a day prosperous vnto him.

The *Major* and *Companies* of the Citie receiued him at *Shore-ditch*: whence, with great and Honorable attendance and troupes of Noble-men, and Persons
of

of Qualitie hee entred the Citie; himselfe not being on Horse-backe, or in any open *Chaire*, or *Throne*, but in a close *Chariot*, as one that hauing beene sometimes an Enemie to the whole State, and a Proscribed person, chose rather to keepe State, and strike a Reuerence into the people, then to fawne vpon them.

He went first into Saint *Paules Church*, where not meaning that the People should forget too soone that hee came in by Battaile, hee made Offertorie of his *Standards*, and had *Orizons* and *Te Deum* againe sung, and went to his Lodging prepared in the *Bishop of Londons Pallace*, where he staid for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his *Counsell*, and other principall persons, in presence of whom, he did renew againe his promise to marrie with the *Lady ELIZABETH*. This hee did the rather, because hauing at his comming out of *Britaine* giuen artificially, for seruing of his owne turne some hopes, in case he obtained the Kingdome, to marrie *ANNE* Inheritesse to the Duchie of *Britaine*, whom *CHARLES* the Eight of *France* soone after married; It bred some doubt and suspicion amongst diuers, that he was not sincere, or at least not fixed in going on with the match of *England* so much desired: which Conceit also though it were but Talke and Discourse did much afflict the poore *Lady ELIZABETH* her selfe. But howsoeuer he both truly intended it, and desired also it should be so beleeued, (the better to extinguish Enuie and Contradiction to his other purposes) yet was he resolu'd in himselfe not to proceed to the Consummation thereof till his *Coronation* and a *Parliament* were past. The one, least a ioynt *Coronation* of himselfe and his *Queene* might giue any countenance of participation of Title; The other, least in the intayling of the *Crowne* to himselfe, which he hoped to obtaine by *Parliament*, the

Votes

Votes of the *Parliament* might any wayes reflect vpon her.

About this time in *Autumne*, towards the end of *September*, there began and raigned in the Citie and other parts of the Kingdome a *Disease* then new: which of the Accidents and manner thereof, they called the *Sweating-Sicknesse*. This Disease had a swift course both in the *Sicke-Body* and in the *Time* and *Period* of the lasting thereof: for they that were taken with it vpon foure and twentie houres escaping were thought almost assured. And as to the *Time* of the malice and raigne of the Disease ere it ceased; It began about the one and twentieth of *September*, and cleared vp before the end of *October*, insomuch as it was no hinderance to the Kings *Coronation* which was the last of *October*: nor (which was more) to the holding of the *Parliament*, which began but seuen dayes after. It was a *Pestilent-Feuer*, but (as it seemeth) not seated in the *Veynes* or *Humors*, for that there followed no *Carbuncle*, no purple or liuide Spots, or the like, the Masse of the Bodie being not tainted: onely a maligne *Vapour* flew to the Heart and seased the vitall *Spirits*; which stirred Nature to strue to send it forth by an extreme sweat. And it appeared by experience that this Disease was rather a Surprise of Nature, then obstinate to Remedies, if it were in time looked vnto. For if the *Patient* were kept in an equall temper, both for Clothes, Fire, and Drinke, moderately warme, with temperate *Cordials*, whereby Natures worke were neither irritated by *Heat*, nor turned backe by *Cold*, he commonly recovered. But infinite Persons died sodainly of it, before the manner of the Cure and attendance was knowne. It was conceiued not to be an *Epidemicke* Disease, but to proceed from a malignitie in the constitution of the Aire, gathered by the predispositions
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of Seasons: and the speedie cessation declared as much.

On SIMON and IVDES Euen the King dined with THOMAS BOVRCHIER, *Arch-bishop* of *Canterburie*, and *Cardinall*: and from *Lambeth* went by Land ouer the Bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after hee made twelue *Knights-Bannerets*. But for *Creations* he dispensed them with a sparing hand. For notwithstanding a Field so lately fought, and a *Coronation* so neere at hand, he onely created three: IASPER Earle of *Pembroke* (the Kings Vnckle) was created Duke of *Bedford*; THOMAS the Lord STANLEY (the Kings Father-in-law) Earle of *Darbie*; and EDWARD COVRTNEY Earle of *Deuon*; though the King had then neuerthelesse a purpose in himselfe to make more in time of *Parliament*; bearing a wise and decent respect to distribute his *Creations*, some to honour his *Coronation*, and some his *Parliament*.

The *Coronation* followed two dayes after vpon the thirtieth day of *October* in the yeare of our Lord 1485. At which time INNOCENT the Eight was *Pope* of *Rome*; FREDERICKE the Third, *Emperour* of *Almaine*; and MAXIMILIAN his sonne newly chosen King of the *Romans*; CHARLES the Eight, King of *France*; FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, Kings of *Spaine*; and IAMES the Third, King of *Scotland*: with all which Kings and States, the King was at that time in good peace and amitie.. At which day also (as if the Crowne vpon his head, had put perils into his thoughts) he did institute for the better securitie of his person a Band of fiftie *Archers* vnder a *Captaine* to attend him, by the name of *Yeomen-of-his-Guard*: and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of *Dignitie*, after the imitation of that hee had knowne abroad, then any matter of *Diffidence* appropriate

priate to his owne Case, he made it to be vnderstood for an *Ordinance* not temporarie, but to hold in succession for euer after.

The seuenth of *November* the King held his *Parliament* at *Westminster*, which he had summoned immediately after his comming to *London*. His Ends in calling a *Parliament* (and that so speedily) were chiefly three; *First*, to procure the Crowne to be entayled vpon himselfe. *Next*, to haue the Attaindors of all of his Partie (which were in no small number) reuerfed, and all Acts of hostilitie by them done in his quarrell, remitted and discharged: and on the other side to attaint by *Parliament*, the *Heads* and *Principals* of his Enimies. The *Thrd*, to calme and quiet the feares of the rest of that Partie by a *Generall-Pardon*: not being ignorant in how great danger a King stands from his Subiects, when most of his Subiects are conscious in themselves, that they stand in his danger. Vnto these three speciall Motiues of a *Parliament* was added, that he as a prudent and moderate Prince, made this iudgement; that it was fit for him to hasten to let his people see, that hee meant to gouerne by *Law*, howsoeuer he came in by the *Sword*: and fit also to reclaime them to know him for their King, whom they had so lately talked of as an *Enemie* or *Banished-man*. For that which concerned the Entayling of the Crowne; (more then that he was true to his owne Will, that he would not indure any mention of the Lady ELIZABETH: no not in the nature of *Speciall-Intaile*,) he carried it otherwise with great wisdom and measure. For he did not presse to haue the Act penned by way of *Declaration* or *Recognition* of right: as on the other side, he auoyded to haue it by new *Law* or *Ordinance*; but chose rather a kind of middle-way, by way of *Establishment*, and that vnder couert and indifferent words; *That the inheritance*

of the Crowne should rest, remaine, and abide in the King, &c. which words might equally be applied; That the Crowne should continue to him: but whether as hauing former right to it, (which was doubtfull) or hauing it then in Fact and Possession (which no man denied) was left faire to interpretation either way. And againe for the limitation of the *Entaile*, he did not presse it to goe further then to himselfe and to the *Heires* of his body, not speaking of his *right Heires*; but leauing that to the Law to decide: so as the *Entaile* might seeme rather a personall fauour to him, and his children, then a totall Disinheritance to the House of *Yorke*. And in this forme, was the Law drawne and passed. Which *Statute* he procured to be confirmed by the *Popes Bull* the yeare following, with mention neuerthelesse (by way of Recitall) of his other Titles; both of *Discent* and *Conquest*. So as now the wreath of *Three* was made a wreath of *Five*, for to the three first Titles of the two Houses, or Lines, and Conquest, were added two more; the Authorities *Parliamentarie* and *Papall*.

The King likewise in the *Reuersall* of the Attainders of his *Partakers*, and discharging them of all offences incident to his seruice and succour, had his Will: and Acts did passe accordingly. In the passage whereof, exception was taken to diuers Persons in the house of *Commons* for that they were attainted, and thereby not legall, nor habilitate to serue in *Parliament*, being disabled in the highest degree; And that it should be a great incongruitie to haue them to make *Lawes*, who themselues were not *Inlawed*. The truth was, that diuers of those which had in the time of King *RICHARD* bene strongest and most declared for the Kings Partie, were returned *Knights* and *Burgeses* for the *Parliament*; whether by care or recom-

recommendation from the *State*, or the voluntarie inclination of the *People*: many of which had beene by RICHARD the third attainted by *Outlawries*, or otherwise. The King was somewhat troubled with this. For though it had a graue and specious Shew, yet it reflected vpon his Partic. But wisely not shewing himselfe at all moued therewith, he would not vnderstand it but as a *Case* in Law; and wished the *Iudges* to be aduised thereupon: who for that purpose were forthwith assembled in the *Exchequer-Chamber* (which is the *Counsell-Chamber* of the *Iudges*) and vpon deliberation they gaue a graue and safe *Opinion* and *Aduice*, mixed with *Law* and *Conuenience*, which was; that the *Knights* and *Burgesses* attainted by the course of Law, should forbear to come into the House, till a Law were passed for the reuerfall of their *Attaindors*.

It was at that time incidently moued amongst the *Iudges* in their Consultation, what should be done for the King himselfe, who likewise was attainted? But it was with vnanimous consent resolued, *That the Crowne takes away all defects and stops in bloud: and that from the time the King did assume the Crowne, the fountaine was cleared, and all Attaindors and Corruption of bloud discharged.* But neuerthelesse for *Honours* sake it was ordained by *Parliament*, that all *Records* wherein there was any memorie, or mention of the Kings *Attaindor*, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken of the *File*.

But on the part of the Kings *Enimies* there were by *Parliament* attainted; the late Duke of *Glocester*, calling himselfe RICHARD the Third, The Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earle of *Surrey*, Viscount *LOVEL*, the Lord *FERRERS*, the Lord *ZOVCH*, RICHARD RATCLIFFE, WILLIAM CATESBY, and many others of degree and qualitie. In which
Bills

Bills of *Attaindors*, neuerthelesse there were contayned many iust and temperate *Clauses, Savings, and Prouiso*s, well shewing and fore-tokening the wisdome, stay, and moderation of the Kings spirit of Government. And for the *Pardon* of the rest, that had stood against the King; the King, vpon a second aduice, thought it not fit it should passe by *Parliament*, the better (being matter of Grace) to impropriate the thanks to himselfe: vsing onely the opportunitie of a *Parliament* time, the better to disperse it into the *Veines* of the *Kingdome*. Therefore during the *Parliament*, hee published his *Royall Proclamation*, offering *Pardon* and *Grace* of restitution, to all such as had taken *Armes*, or beene participant of any Attempts against him; so as, they submitted themselues to his mercy by a Day, and tooke the Oath of *Allegeance* and Fidelitie to him. Whereupon many came out of *Sanctuary*, and many more came out of *Feare*, no lesse guiltie then those that had taken *Sanctuarie*.

As for *Money* or *Treasure*, the King thought it not seasonable, or fit to demand any of his *Subiects* at this *Parliament*: both because he had receiued satisfaction from them in matters of so great importance: and because he could not remunerate them with any *General Pardon*, being preuented therein by the *Coronation Pardon*, passed immediately before: but chiefly, for that it was in euery mans eye, what great *Forfeitures* and *Confiscations* he had at that present to helpe himselfe: Whereby those *Casualties* of the Crowne might in reason spare the *Purses* of the Subiect; especially in a time when he was in peace with all his Neighbours. Some few *Lawes* passed at that *Parliament*, almost for forme sake: amongst which there was *One*, to reduce Aliens, being made Denizens, to pay strangers Customes; and *another*, to draw to himselfe the *Seisures* and *Compositions* of *Italians Goods*, for not imployment, being

Points

Points of Profit to his Cooffers, whereof from the very Beginning he was not forgetfull; and had been more happie at the Latter End, if his early prouidence (which kept him from all necessitie of exacting vpon his people) could likewise haue attempred his nature therein. He added during *Parliament*, to his former *Creations*, the *Innoblement* or aduancement in *Nobilitie* of a few others: The Lord CHANDOS of *Brittaine*, was made Earle of *Bathe*; Sir GILES DAWBENY was made Lord *Dawbeny*; and Sir ROBERT WILLOUGHBY, Lord *Brooke*.

The King did also with great Noblenesse and Bountie (which Vertues at that time had their turnes in his Nature) restore EDWARD STAFFORD (eldest sonne to HENRY, Duke of *Buckingham*, attainted in the time of King RICHARD) not onely to his *Dignities*, but to his *Fortunes* and *Possessions*, which were great: to which he was moued also by a kind of gratitude, for that the Duke was the man that moued the first Stone against the Tyrannie of King RICHARD, and indeed made the King a Bridge to the Crowne vpon his owne Ruines. Thus the *Parliament* brake vp.

The *Parliament* being dissolued, the King sent forthwith Money to redeeme the Marquesse *Dorset*, and Sir IOHN BOVRCHIER, whom hee had left as his *Pledges* at *Paris*, for Money which hee had borrowed, when he made his Expedition for *England*. And thereupon hee tooke a fit occasion to send the Lord *Treasurer* and Master BRAY (whom hee vsed as Councillor) to the Lord Major of *London*, requiring of the Citie a *Prest* of six thousand Markes: But after many *Parlees*, hee could obtaine but two thousand pounds. Which neuerthelesse the King tooke in good part; as Men vse to doe, that practise to borrow Money, when they haue no need. About this time, the
King

King called vnto his *Prinie-Councill*, I O H N M O R T O N, and R I C H A R D F O X E, the one *Bishop* of *Elie*, the other *Bishop* of *Excester*; vigilant men, and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost vpon all men else. They had beene both versed in his Affaires, before hee came to the Crowne, and were partakers of his aduerse Fortune. This M O R T O N soone after vpon the death of B O V R C H I E R, he made *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*. And for F O X E, hee made him Lord *Keeper* of his *Prinie-Seale*, and afterwards aduanced him by Degrees, from *Excester* to *Bathe* and *Wells*, thence to *Durham*, and last, to *Winchester*. For although the King loued to imploy and aduance *Bishops*, because hauing rich *Bishoppricks*, they carried their Reward vpon themselves: yet hee did vse to rayse them by steps; that heemight not loose the profit of the *First-fruits*, which by that course of Gradation was multiplied.

At last, vpon the eighteenth of *Ianuary* was solemnized the so long expected and so much desired Marriage, betweene the King & the Lady E L I Z A B E T H: Which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph, and Demonstrations (especially on the peoples part) of Ioy and Gladnesse, then the dayes cyther of his Entry, or Coronation; which the King rather noted, then liked. And it is true, that all his life time, while the Lady E L I Z A B E T H liued with him (for she died before him) hee shewed himselfe no very indulgent Husband towards her, though shee was beautifull, gentle, and fruitfull. But his auersion towards the House of Y O R K E was so predominant in him, as it found place, not onely in his *Warres* and *Councils*, but in his *Chamber* and *Bed*.

Towards the middle of the *Spring*, the King, full of confidence and assurance, as a *Prince* that had beene victorious in *Battaile*, and had preuayled with his *Parliament*

liament in all that he desired, and had the *Ring of Acclamations* fresh in his cares, thought the rest of his Raigne should bee but Play, and the enioying of a *Kingdome*. Yet as a wise and watchfull King, he would not neglect any thing for his safetie; thinking neuerthelesse to performe all things now, rather as an *Exercise*, then as a *Labour*. So he being truly informed, that the *Northerne parts* were not onely affectionate to the House of YORKE, but particularly had beene deuoted to King RICHARD the third; thought it would be a Summer well spent to visit those *Parts*, and by his presence and application of himselfe, to reclayme and rectifie those humours. But the King, in his accompt of *Peace*, and *Calmes*, did much ouer-cast his Fortunes, which proued for many yeares together full of *Broken Seas*, *Tides*, and *Tempests*. For he was no sooner come to *Lincolne*, where he kept his *Easter*, but he receiued newes, that the Lord LOVEL, HUMPHREY STAFFORD, and THOMAS STAFFORD (who had formerly taken *Sanctuarie* at *Colchester*) were departed out of *Sanctuarie*, but to what place, no man could tell. Which aduertisement the King despised, and continued his Iourney to *Yorke*. At *Yorke* there came fresh and more certaine aduertisement, that the Lord LOVEL was at hand with a great power of men, and that the STAFFORDS were in Armes in *Worcestershire*, and had made their approaches to the Citie of *Worcester*, to assaile it. The King, as a Prince of great and profound iudgement, was not much moued with it; for that hee thought it was but a Ragge or Remnant of *Bosworth-Field*, and had nothing in it of the maine Partie of the House of YORKE. But hee was more doubtfull of the raysing of Forces to resist the *Rebels*, then of the Resistance it selfe; for that he was in a *Core* of People, whose affections he suspected. But the Action enduring no delay, hee did speedily

leuic and send against the Lord *LOVEL* to the number of three thousand men, ill armed, but well assured (being taken some few out of his owne Trainee, and the rest out of the Tenants and Followers of such as were safe to bee trusted) vnder the Conduct of the Duke of *Bedford*. And as his manner was to send his Pardons rather before the Sword then after, hee gaue *Commission* to the Duke, to proclaime pardon to all that would come in: Which the Duke, vpon his approach to the Lord *LOVELS* Campe, did performe. And it fell out as the King expected; the *Heralds* were the *Great-Ord'nance*. For the Lord *LOVEL*, vpon *Proclamation* of Pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into *Lancashire*, and lurking for a time with Sir *THOMAS BROUGHTON*, after sayled ouer into *Flanders*, to the Lady *MARGARET*. And his men, forsaken of their *Captaine*, did presently submit themselues to the Duke. The *STAFFORDS* likewise, and their Forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord *LOVEL* (in whose successe their chiefe trust was) despaired, and disperfed. The two Brothers, taking *Sanctuarie* at *Colnham*, a Village neere *Abington*; which Place, vpon view of their *Priniledge* in the Kings Bench, beeing iudged no sufficient *Sanctuarie* for Traytors, *HUMPHREY* was executed at *Tiburne*; and *THOMAS*, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this *Rebellion* proued but a Blast, and the King hauing by this Iourney purged a little the Dregs and Leauen of the *Northerne People*, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to *London*.

In *September* following, the *Queene* was deliuered of her first sonne, whom the King (in honour of the *Brittish-Race*, of which himselfe was) named *ARTHUR*, according to the Name of that ancient worthy King of the *Brittaines*; in whose Acts there is truth enough to make him Famous, besides that which is
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Fabulous. The *Childe* was strong and able, though he was borne in the *eight Moneth*, which the Physicians doe preiudge.

There followed this yeare, being the *Second* of the Kings Raigne, a strange Accident of *State*, whereof the Relations which we haue, are so naked, as they leaue it scarce credible; not for the nature of it (for it hath fallen out oft) but for the manner and circumstance of it, especially in the beginnings. Therefore wee shall make our Iudgement vpon the things themselves, as they giue light one to another, and (as wee can) digge *Truth* out of the *Mine*. The King was greene in his estate; and contrary to his owne opinion, and desert both, was not without much hatred throughout the *Realme*. The root of all, was the discountenancing of the House of *YORKE*, which the generall Body of the *Realme* still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the *Subiects* from him dayly more and more, especially when they saw, that after his Marriage, and after a Sonne borne, the King did neuerthelesse not so much as proceed to the *Coronation* of the *Queene*, not vouchsafing her the honour of a *Matrimoniall Crowne*; for the *Coronation* of her was not till almost two yeares after, when Danger had taught him what to doe. But much more, when it was spread abroad (whether by *Error*, or the cunning of *Male-contentes*) that the King had a purpose to put to death *EDWARD PLANTAGENET* closely in the *Tower*: Whose case was so neerely paralleld with that of *EDWARD* the Fourth's Children, in respect of the Bloud, like Age, and the very place of the *Tower*, as it did refresh and reflect vpon the King a most odious resemblance, as if hee would be another King *RICHARD*. And all this time it was still whispered euery where, that at least one of the Children of *ED-*

WARD the Fourth was liuing. Which Bruite was cunningly fomented by such as desired *Innouation*. Neither was the Kings nature and customes greatly fit to disperse these *Mistes*; but contrariwise hee had a fashion rather to create Doubts, then Assurance. Thus was *Fuell* prepared for the *Sparke*: the *Sparke* that afterwards kindled such a fire, and combustion, was at the first contemptible.

There was a subtile *Priest* called RICHARD SIMON, that liued in *Oxford*, and had to his Pupill a *Bakers sonne* named LAMBERT SIMNELL, of the age of some fifteene yeares; a comely Youth, and well fauoured, not without some extraordinarie dignitie, and grace of aspect. It came into this *Priests* fancie (hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himselfe to some great *Bishopricke*) to cause this *Lad* to counterfeite and personate the second sonne of EDWARD the Fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterward (for he changed his intention in the manage) the Lord EDWARD PLANTAGENET then prisoner in the *Tower*, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the *Part* he was to Play. This is that which (as was touched before) seemeth scarcely credible; Not that a *False person* should be assumed to gaine a *Kingdome*, for it hath beene seene in ancient and late times; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abiect Fellow, to enterprise so great a matter; for high Concepts doe sometimes come streaming into the Imaginations of base persons, especially when they are drunke with *Newes*, and *Talke* of the people. But here is that which hath no apparance; That this *Priest* being vtterly vnacquainted with the true *Person*, according to whose patterne he should shape his *Counterfeit*, should thinke it possible for him to instruct his *Player*, either in gesture and fashions, or in recounting past matters of his life and edu-

education; or in fit answeres to questions, or the like, any wayes to come neare the resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this *Lad* was not to personate one, that had beene long before taken out of his Cradle, or conueighed away in his infancie, knowne to few; but a *rough* that till the age almost of ten yeares had beene brought vp in a *Court* where infinite eyes had beene vpon him. For King EDWARD touched with remorse of his brother the Duke of *Clarences* death, would not indeed restore his sonne, (of whom wee speake) to be Duke of *Clarence*, but yet created him Earle of *Warwicke*, reuiuing his honour on the mothers side, and vsed him honourably during his time, though RICHARD the Third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great *Person*, that knew particularly, and familiarly EDWARD PLANTAGENET, had a hand in the businesse, from whom the *Priest* might take his ayne. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent Acts, is, that it was the *Queene Dowager*, from whom this action had the principall source and motion. For certaine it is, shee was a busie negotiating woman, and in her *withdrawing-Chamber* had the fortunate *Conspiracie* for the King against King RICHARD the Third, beene hatched; which the King knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the King, thinking her daughter (as the King handled the matter) not aduanced, but depressed: and none could hold the *Booke* so well to prompt and instruct this *Stage-play*, as she could. Neuerthelesse it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that fauoured this Enterprise and knew the Secret, that this disguised *Idoll* should possesse the *Crowne*; but at his perill to make way to the Overthrow

throw of the King : and that done , they had their severall *Hopes* and *Wayes*. That which doth chiefly fortifie this Coniecture , is, that as soone as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the Kings first Acts to cloister the *Queene Dowager* in the *Nunnery* of *Bermondsey*, and to take away all her lands and estate; and this by a close *Counsell* without any legall proceeding, vpon farre-fetcht Pretences; That *shee* had deliuered her two daughters out of *Sanctuarie* to King *RICHARD* contrarie to promise. Which Proceeding being euen at that time taxed for rigorous and vndue, both in matter and manner; makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the King vpon reason of *Policie*, and to auoid enuy would not publish. It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it, and some suppressing of Examinations; for that the *Priest* *SIMON* himselfe, after he was taken was neuer brought to execution; no not so much as to publike *Triall* (as many *Clergie-men* were vpon lesse Treasons) but was only shut vp close in a *Dungeon*. Adde to this that after the Earle of *Lincolne* (a principall person of the House of *YORKE*) was flaine in *Stoke-field*, the King opened himselfe to some of his *Counsell*, that hee was sorie for the *Earles* death, because by him (hee said) hee might haue knowne the bottome of his danger.

But to returne to the *Narration* it selfe; *SIMON* did first instruct his *Scholler* for the part of *RICHARD* Duke of *Yorke*, second sonne to King *EDWARD* the Fourth, and this was at such time as it was voiced that the King purposed to put to death *EDWARD PLANTAGENET* prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soone after a generall bruit that *PLANTAGENET* had escaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloued amongst the people, and such reioycing at his

his Escape, the cunning *Priest* changed his Copic, and chose now PLANTAGENET to be the Subiect his *Pupill* should personate, because he was more in the present speech, and votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomely vpon the bruit of PLANTAGENETS escape. But yet doubting that there would be too neere looking, and too much *Perspectiue* into his Disguise, if he should shew it here in *England*; hee thought good (after the manner of *Scenes* in *Stage-Playes* and *Masks*) to shew it a farre off; and therefore sayled with his Scholler into *Ireland*, where the Affection to the House of YORKE was most in height. The King had beene a little improuident in the matters of *Ireland*, and had not remoued *Officers* and *Counsellors*, and put in their places, or at least intermingled persons, of whom hee stood assured, as he should haue done, since hee knew the strong Bent of that Countrey towards the House of YORKE; and that it was a ticklish and vnsetled State, more easie to receiue distempers and mutations, then *England* was. But trusting to the reputation of his Victories and Successes in *England*, hee thought hee should haue time enough to extend his Cares afterwards to that second Kingdome.

Wherefore through this neglect, vpon the coming of SIMON with his pretended PLANTAGENET into *Ireland*, all things were prepared for Reuolt and Sedition, almost as if they had beene set and plotted before hand. SIMONS first addresse was to the Lord THOMAS FITZ-GERARD, Earle of *Kildare*, and Deputie of *Ireland*: before whose Eyes hee did cast such a Mist (by his owne insinuation, and by the carriage of his Youth, that expressed a naturall Princely behauiour) as ioyned perhaps with some inward Vapours of Ambition and Affection in the Earles owne minde, left him
fully

fully possessed, that it was the true PLANTAGENET. The *Earle* presently communicated the matter with some of the *Nobles* and others there, at the first secretly. But finding them of like affection to himselfe, hee suffered it of purpose to vent and passe abroad; because they thought it not safe to resolve, till they had a tast of the *Peoples* inclination. But if the *Great* ones were in forwardnesse, the *People* were in furie, entertayning this *Airie bodie* or *Phantasme* with incredible affection; partly out of their great deuotion to the House of YORKE; partly out of a proud humour in the Nation, to giue a *King* to the Realme of England. Neither did the *Partie* in this heate of affection much trouble themselves with the Attaindor of GEORGE Duke of Clarence; hauing newly learned by the Kings example, that *Attaindors* doe not interrupt the conueighing of *Title* to the Crowne. And as for the daughters of King EDWARD the Fourth, they thought King RICHARD had said enough for them: and tooke them to bee but as of the Kings *Partie*, because they were in his power and at his disposing. So that with maruelous consent and applause, this Counterfeit PLANTAGENET was brought with great solemnitie to the Castle of Dublin, and there saluted, serued, and honoured as King; the *Boy* becomming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the basenesse of his condition. And within a few dayes after he was proclaimed King in Dublin, by the name of King EDWARD the Sixt; there being not a sword drawne in King HENRY his quarrell.

The King was much moued with this vnexpected accident, when it came to his eares, both because it strooke vpon that *String* which euer he most feared, as also because it was stirred in such a *Place*, where he could not with safetie transferre his owne person, to
suppresse

suppresse it. For partly through naturall valour, and partly through an vniuersall suspition (not knowing whom to trust) he was euer readie to waite vpon all his atchieuements in person. The King therefore first called his *Councell* together at the *Charter-house* at *Shine*. Which *Councell* was held with great secrecie, but the open *Decrees* thereof, which presently came abroad, were three.

The first was, that the *Queene Dowager*, for that she, contrarie to her *Pact*, and *Agreement* with those that had concluded with her concerning the *Marriage* of her daughter ELIZABETH with King HENRY, had neuerthelesse deliuered her daughters out of *Sanctuarie* into King RICHARDS hands; should be cloistered in the Nunnerie of *Bermondsey*, and forfeit all her lands and goods.

The next was, that EDWARD PLANTAGENET, then Close-prisoner in the *Tower*, should be in the most publike and notorious manner, that could be deuised, shewed vnto the people: In part to discharge the King of the Enuie of that opinion and bruite, how he had beene put to death priuily in the *Tower*; But chiefly to make the people see the leuitie and imposture of the proceedings of *Ireland*, and that their PLANTAGENET was indeed but a puppet, or a *Counterfeit*.

The third was, that there should be againe proclaimed a *Generall-Pardon* to all that would reueale their offences, and submit themselues by a day. And that this *Pardon* should be conceiued in so ample and liberall a manner, as no *High-Treason* (no not against the Kings owne person) should be excepted. Which though it might seeme strange, yet was it not so to a wise King, that knew his greatest dangers were not from the least *Treasons*, but from the greatest. These resolutions of the King and his *Councell* were imme-

diatly put in execution. And first, the Queene Dowager was put into the Monasterie of *Bermondsey*, and all her estate seized into the Kings hands, whereat there was much wondering; That a weake woman, for the yeelding to the menaces and promises of a *Tyrant*, after such a distance of time (wherein the King had shewed no displeasure nor alteration) but much more after so happie a mariage, betweene the King and her *Daughter*, blessed with *Issue-male*, should vpon a sodaine mutabilitie or disclosure of the Kings mind be so seuerely handled.

This *Lady* was amongst the examples of great varietie of *Fortune*. Shee had first from a distressed *Suitor*, and desolate *Widdow*, beene taken to the *Marriage-Bed* of a *Batchelour-King*, the goodliest personage of his time; and euen in his raigne she had endured a strange *Eclipse* by the Kings flight, and temporarie depriving from the Crowne. Shee was also very happie, in that she had by him faire *Issue*, and continued his Nuptiall Loue (helping her selfe by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his pleasures) to the very end. She was much affectionate to her owne Kindred, euen vnto *Faction*; which did stirre great Enuie in the *Lords* of the Kings side, who counted her Bloud a disparagement to be mingled with the Kings. With which *Lords* of the Kings bloud, ioyned also the Kings *Fauorite* the Lord *HASTINGS*; who, notwithstanding the Kings great affection to him, was thought at times, through her malice and Splene, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husbands death, she was matter of *Tragedie*, hauing liued to see her *Brother* beheaded, and her two *Sonnes* deposed from the Crowne, bastarded in their bloud, and cruelly murdered. All this while neuerthelesse shee enioyed her Libertie, State, and Fortunes. But afterwards againe, vpon the *Rise* of the
*Whee*le,

Wheele, when she had a King to her Sonne-in-Law, and was made *Grand-mother* to a *Grand-child* of the best Sexe; yet was she (vpon darke and vnknowne Reasons, and no lesse strange Pretences) precipitated, and banished the World, into a *Nunnerie*; where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her, or see her; and where not long after she ended her life: but was by the Kings Commandement buried with the King her Husband at *Windsore*. Shee was *Foundresse* of *Queenes-College* in *Cambridge*. For this *Act* the King sustained great obloquie, which neuerthelesse (besides the reason of State) was somewhat sweetned to him by a great *Confiscation*.

About this time also, EDWARD PLANTAGENET was vpon a *Sonday* brought throughout all the principall Streets of *London*, to be seene of the people. And hauing passed the view of the Streets, was conducted to *PAVLS Church*, in solemne *Procession*, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that diuerse of the *Nobilitie*, and others of *Qualitie* (especially of those that the King most suspected, and knew the person of PLANTAGENET best) had communication with the young Gentleman by the way, and entertayned him with speech and discourse; which did in effect marre the *Pageant* in *Ireland* with the Subjects here, at least with so many, as out of error, and not out of malice, might be mis-led. Neuerthelesse, in *Ireland* (where it was too late to goe backe) it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwise, they turned the *Imposture* vpon the King, and gaue out, That the King, to defeat the true *Inheritor*, and to mocke the World, and blinde the eyes of simple men, had tricked vp a *Boy* in the likenesse of EDWARD PLANTAGENET, and shewed him to the people, not sparing to prophane the *Ceremonie* of a *Procession*, the more to countenance the *Fable*.

The *Generall-Pardon* likewise neere the same time came forth; and the King therewithall omitted no diligence, in giuing straight order, for the keeping of the *Ports*; that *Fugitiues*, *Male-contents*, or suspected *Persons* might not passe ouer into *Ireland*, and *Flanders*.

Meane while the *Rebels* in *Ireland* had sent priuie Messengers both into *England*, and into *Flanders*, who in both places had wrought effects of no small importance. For in *England* they wonne to their Partie I O H N, Earle of *Lincolne*, sonne of I O H N D E L A P O L E, Duke of *Suffolke*, and of E L I Z A B E T H, King E D W A R D the Fourths eldest sister. This *Earle* was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly rayled by Hopes and Expectations for a time. For R I C H A R D the third had a Resolution, out of his hatred to both his Brethren, King E D W A R D, and the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Lines, (hauing had his hand in both their blouds) to disable their Issues vpon false and incompetent Pretexs; the one, of *Attaindor*; the other, of *Illegitimation*: and to designe this *Gentleman* (in case himselfe should die without Children) for *Inheritor* of the *Crowne*. Neither was this vnknowne to the King, who had secretly an Eye vpon him. But the King hauing tasted of the Enuie of the people, for his imprisonment of E D W A R D P L A N T A G E N E T, was doubtfull to heape vp any more distasts of that kind, by the imprisonment of D E L A P O L E also; the rather thinking it Policie to conserue him as a *Corriuall* vnto the other. The *Earle* of *Lincolne* was induced to participate with the Action of *Ireland*, not lightly vpon the strength of the *Proceedings* there, which was but a *Bubble*, but vpon Letters from the Lady M A R G A R E T of *Burgundie*, in whose succours and declaration for the *Enterprise*, there seemed to be a more solid foundation, both for Reputation

tation and Forces. Neither did the Earle reſtaine the Buſineſſe, for that he knew the pretended PLANTAGENET to be but an *Idoll*. But contrariwiſe, hee was more glad it ſhould be the falſe PLANTAGENET then the true: becauſe the Falſe being ſure to fall away of himſelfe, and the True to be made ſure of by the King; it might open and paue a faire and prepared way to his owne *Title*. With this Reſolution hee ſayled ſecretly into *Flanders*; where was a little before arriued the Lord LOVEL, leauing a correſpondence here in *England* with Sir THOMAS BROUGHTON, a man of great Power and Dependencies in *Lancaſhire*. For before this time, when the pretended PLANTAGENET was firſt receiued in *Ireland*, ſecret Meſſengers had beene alſo ſent to the Lady MARGARET, aduertizing her what had paſſed in *Ireland*, imploring Succours in an Enterpriſe (as they ſaid) ſo pious and iuſt, and that God had ſo miraculoſly proſpered the beginning thereof; and making offer, that all things ſhould be guided by her will and direction, as the *Soueraigne Patroneſſe* and *Protectreſſe* of the Enterpriſe. MARGARET was ſecond ſiſter to King EDWARD the Fourth, and had beene ſecond Wife to CHARLES, ſurnamed the HARDY, Duke of *Burgundie*; by whom, hauing no Children of her owne, ſhe did with ſingular care and tenderneſſe intend the Education of PHILIP and MARGARET, Grand-children to her former Husband; which wonne her great loue and authoritie among the *Dutch*. This *Princeſſe* (hauing the *Spirit* of a Man, and *Malice* of a Woman) abounding in *Treſure*, by the greatneſſe of her *Dower*, and her prouident Gouernment, and being Childleſſe, and without any neerer Care, made it her *Deſigne* and Enterpriſe, to ſee the *Maieſtie Royall* of *England* once againe re-placed in her Houſe, and had ſet vp King HENRY as a Marke, at whoſe

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ouerthrow all her actions should ayme and shoote; insomuch as all the *Counsell*s of his succeeding troubles came chiefly out of that *Quiver*. And shee bare such a mortall hatred to the House of LANCASTER, and personally to the *King*, as she was no wayes mollified by the *Coniunction* of the Houses in her *Nieces* marriage, but rather hated her *Neece*, as the means of the Kings ascent to the *Crowne*, and assurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection she embraced this Ouerture. And vpon Counsaile taken with the *Earle* of *Lincolne*, and the Lord *LOVEL*, and some other of the *Partie*, it was resolved with all speed, the two *Lords* assisted with a Regiment of two thousand *Almaines*, being choice and Veterane *Bands*, vnder the command of *MARTIN SWART* (a valiant and experimented *Captaine*) should passe over into *Ireland* to the new *King*. Hoping, that when the *Action* should haue the face of a receiued and settled *Regalitie* (with such a second Person, as the *Earle* of *Lincolne*, and the *Coniunction* and reputation of foraine succours) the fame of it would embolden and prepare all the *Partie* of the *Confederates* and *Malecontents* within the Realme of *England*, to giue them assistance, when they should come over there. And for the *Person* of the *Counterfeit*, it was agreed, that if all things succeeded wel, he should be put downe, and the true *PLANTAGENET* receiued: Wherein neuerthelesse the *Earle* of *Lincolne* had his particular hopes. After they were come into *Ireland*, and that the *Partie* tooke courage, by seeing themselves together in a Bodie, they grew very confident of successe, conceiuing and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in vpon farre better *Cardes* to ouerthrow King *HENRY*, then King *HENRY* had to ouerthrow King *RICHARD*. And that if there were not a *Sword* drawne against them in *Ireland*, it was

was a *Signe* the Swords in *England* would be soone sheathed, or beaten downe. And first, for a *Brauery* vpon this accession of power, they crowned their new King in the *Cathedrall Church* of *Dublin*; who formerly had beene but proclaymed onely; and then sate in *Councell* what should further be done. At which *Councell* though it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to establish themselves first in *Ireland*, and to make that the Seat of the Warre, and to draw King HENRY thither in person, by whose absence, they thought there would be great alterations and commotions in *England*; yet because the *Kingdome* there was poore, and they should not be able to keepe their *Armie* together, nor pay their *Germane* Soldiers, and for that also the sway of the *Irish-men*, and generally of the Men-of-warre, which (as in such cases of Popular tumults is vsuall) did in effect gouerne their Leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their fortunes vpon *England*; It was concluded with all possible speed to transport their forces into *England*. The King in the meane time, who at the first when he heard what was done in *Ireland*, though it troubled him, yet thought hee should bee well enough able to scatter the *Irish* as a *Flight* of Birds, and rattle away this *Swarme* of Bees, with their King; when he heard afterwards that the Earle of *Lincolne* was embarqued in the action, and that the Lady MARGARET was declared for it; he apprehended the danger in a true Degree as it was, and saw plainly that his Kingdome must againe be put to the Stake, and that he must fight for it. And first, he did conceiue, before he vnderstood of the Earle of *Lincolnes* sayling into *Ireland* out of *Flanders*, that he should be assailed both vpon the *East-parts* of the Kingdome of *England* by some impression from *Flanders*, and vpon the *North-west* out of *Ireland*. And therefore
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having ordered Musters to be made in both *Parts*, and having prouisionally designed two *Generals*, I A S P E R Earle of *Bedford*, and I O H N Earle of *Oxford*, (meaning himselfe also to goe in person, where the Affaires should most require it) and neuerthelesse not expecting any actuall *Inuasion* at that time (the Winter being farre on) he tooke his Iourney himselfe towards *Suffolke* and *Northfolke*, for the confirming of those parts. And being come to *S. Edmonds-bury*, hee vnderstood, that T H O M A S, Marquesse *Dorset* (who had beene one of the *Pledges* in *France*) was hastening towards him, to purge himselfe of some Accusations, which had beene made against him. But the King, though hee kept an Eare for him, yet was the time so doubtfull, that hee sent the Earle of *Oxford* to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the *Tower*; with a faire Message neuerthelesse, that hee should beare that disgrace with patience, for that the King meant not his hurt, but onely to preferue him from doing hurt, cyther to the Kings seruice, or to himselfe; and that the King should alwayes be able (when hee had cleared himselfe) to make him reparation.

From *S. Edmonds-bury* he went to *Norwich*, where he kept his *Christmas*. And from thence he went (in a manner of *Pilgrimage*) to *Walsingham*, where hee visited our *Ladies Church*, famous for *Miracles*, and made his Prayers and Vowes for helpe and deliuerance. And from thence hee returned by *Cambridge* to *London*. Not long after the *Rebels*, with their King (vnder the leading of the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Earle of *Kildare*, the Lord *LOVEL*, and Colonell *SWART*) landed at *Fouldrey* in *Lancashire*, whither there repaired to them, Sir T H O M A S B R O U G H T O N, with some small companie of *English*. The King by that time (knowing now the Storme would not diuide, but fall in one place) had leuied Forces in good num-

number; And in person (taking with him his two designed *Generals*, the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earle of *Oxford*) was come on his way towards them as farre as *Conentry*, whence he sent forth a troupe of *Light-Horsemen* for discouerie, and to intercept some straglers of the Enemies, by whom he might the better vnderstand the particulars of their Progresse and purposes, which was accordingly done; though the King otherwise was not without intelligence from *Espials* in the *Campe*.

The *Rebels* tooke their way towards *Yorke*, without spoyling the *Countrie*, or any acte of Hostilitie, the better to put themselues into fauour of the people, and to personate their *King*: who (no doubt, out of a Princely feeling) was sparing, and compassionate towards his Subiects. But their *Snow-ball* did not gather as it went. For the people came not in to them: Neither did any rise or declare themselues in other parts of the Kingdome for them, which was caused partly by the good tast that the King had giuen his People of his *Gouernement*, ioyned with the reputation of his *Felicitie*; and partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of *England*, to haue a King brought in to them vpon the shoulders of *Irish* and *Dutch*, of which their Armie was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great iudgement on the *Partie* of the *Rebels*, for them to take their way towards *Yorke*: considering that howsoeuer those parts had formerly beene a *Nurserie* of their friends; yet it was there, where the Lord *LOVEL* had so lately disbanded, and where the Kings presence had a little before qualified discontents. The Earle of *Lincolne* deceiued of his hopes of the Countries concourse vnto him (in which case he would haue temporized) and seeing the businesse past Retraict, resolued to make on where the King was,

and to giue him battaile; and thereupon, marched towards *Newarke*, thinking to haue surprized the Towne. But the King was somewhat before this time come to *Nottingham*, where he called a *Counsell* of Warre, at which was consulted, whether it were best to protract time, or speedily to set vpon the *Rebels*. In which *Counsell* the King himselfe (whose continuall vigilancie did sucke in sometimes causelesse suspicions, which few else knew) inclined to the accelerating a *Battaile*. But this was presently put out of doubt, by the great aides that came in to him in the instant of this Consultation, partly vpon *Misfines*, and partly *Voluntaries* from many parts of the Kingdome.

The principall persons that came then to the Kings aide, were the *Earle* of *Shrewesburie*, and the Lord STRANGE, of the *Nobilitie*: and of *Knights* and *Gentlemen* to the number of at least threescore and tenne persons, with their Companies, making in the whole, at the least six thousand fighting men, besides the *Forces* that were with the King before. Whereupon the King, finding his Armie so brauely re-enforced, and a great alacritie in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his former resolution, and marched speedily, so as hee put himselfe betweene the Enimies *Campe* and *Newarke*; being loath their Armie should get the commoditie of that Towne. The *Earle* nothing dismayed, came forwards that day vnto a little Village called *Stoke*, and there encamped that night, vpon the Brow or hanging of a Hill. The King the next day presented him Battaille vpon the *Plaine*, the fields there being open and champion. The *Earle* couragiously came downe and ioyned Battaille with him. Concerning which *Battaile*, the relations that are left vnto vs are so naked, and negligent (though it be an action of so recent

recent memorie) as they rather declare the *Successe* of the day, then the *Manner* of the fight. They say, that the King diuided his Armie into three *Battailes*; whereof the *Vant-guard* onely well strengthened with wings, came to fight. That the *Fight* was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three houres, before the victorie inclined either way; saue that Iudgement might be made, by that the Kings *Vant-guard* of it selfe main-tayned fight against the whole *Power* of the Enemies, (the other two *Battailes* remayning out of action) what the successe was like to bee in the end. That MARTIN SWART with his *Germanes* performed brauely; and so did those few *English* that were on that side, neither did the *Irish* faile in courage or fiercenesse, but being almost naked men, only armed with *Darts* and *Skeines*, it was rather an *Execution*, then a *Fight* vpon them; insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalement to the rest; That there died vpon the place all the *Chiefetaines*; That is, the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Earle of *Kildare*, FRANCIS Lord LOVEL, MARTIN SWART, and Sir THOMAS BROUGHTON; all making good the fight without any ground giuen. Onely of the Lord LOVEL there went a report, that he fled and swam ouer *Trent* on horsebacke, but could not recouer the further side, by reason of the steepnesse of the Banke, and so was drowned in the *Riuer*. But another *Report* leaues him not there, but that he liued long after in a Caue or Vault. The number that was slaine in the field, was of the *Enemies* part, foure thousand at the least; and of the *Kings* part, one halfe of his *Vant-guard*, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken prisoners amongst others, the Counterfeit PLANTAGENET (now, LAMBERT SIMNELL againe) and the craftie Priest his Tutor. For LAMBERT, the King

would not take his life, both out of Magnanimitie, taking him but as an *Image of Wax*, that others had tempered and moulded; and likewise out of Wisdome, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soone; but being kept alieue hee would be a continuall *Spectacle*, and a kind of remedie against the like *Inchantments of People*, in time to come. For which cause he was taken into seruice in his *Court* to a base office in his *Kitchin*; so that (in a kind of *Mat-tacina* of humane fortune) Hee turned a *Broach*, that had worne a *Crowne*. Whereas Fortune commonly doth not bring in a *Comedie* or *Furce* after a *Tragedie*. And afterwards hee was preferred to be one of the Kings *Falconers*. As to the *Priest*, he was committed *Cloze-prisoner*, and heard of no more; the King louing to seale vp his owne dangers.

After the *Battaile*, the King went to *Lincolne*, where he caused *Supplications* and *Thankesgiuings* to be made for his *Deliuernance* and *Victorie*. And that his *Deuotions* might goe round in *Circle*, he sent his *Banner* to bee offered to our *Ladie of Walsingham*, where before he made his *Vows*. And thus deliuered of this so strange an *Engine* & new *Inuention* of Fortune, he returned to his former confidence of mind, thinking now, that all his misfortunes had come at once. But it fell out vnto him according to the *Speech* of the *Common people* in the beginning of his raigne, that said; *It was a token he should raigne in labour, because his raigne began with a sicknesse of Sweat*. But howsoeuer the King thought himselfe now in a *Hauen*, yet such was his wisdome, as his *Confidence* did seldome darken his *Fore-sight*, especially in things neare hand. And therefore awakened by so fresh, and vnexpected dangers, hee entred into due consideration, aswell how to weed out the *Partakers* of the former *Rebellion*, as to kill the *Seeds* of the like in time to come:
and

and withall to take away all *Shelters* and *Harbours* for discontented *Persons*, where they might hatch and foster *Rebellions*, which afterwards might gather strength and motion. And first, he did yet againe make a *Progresse* from *Lincolne* to the *Northerne Parts*, though it were indeed rather an *Itinerarie Circuit* of *Iustice*, then a *Progresse*. For all along as he went, with much seueritie and strict inquisition, partly by *Martiall Law*, and partly by *Commission*, were punished, the *Adherents*, and *Ayders* of the late *Rebels*. Not all by death, (for the *Field* had drawne much bloud) but by *Fines* and *Ransomes* which spared *Life*, and raised *Treasure*. Amongst other Crimes of this nature, there was diligent Inquirie made of such as had raised and disperfed a bruit and rumour, a little before the *Field* fought, *That the Rebels had the day; and that the Kings Armie was ouerthrowne, and the King fled*. Whereby it was supposed that many *Succours*, which otherwise would haue come vnto the King, were cunningly put of, and kept backe. Which *Charge* and *Accusation*, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by diuers, who hauing beene in themselues not the best affected to the Kings part, nor forward to come to his aide, were glad to apprehend this colour, to couer their neglect and coldnesse, vnder the pretence of such discouragements. Which cunning neuerthelesse, the King would not vnderstand, though he lodged it, and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the Rootes and causes of the like *Commotions* in time to come, the King began to find where his Shooe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the *House* of *YORKE*, that did ranckle and fester the affections of his People. And therefore being now too wise to disdaine perils any longer, and willing to giue some contentment in that

that kind (at least in *Ceremonie*) he resolued at last to proceed to the *Coronation* of his *Queene*. And therefore at his comming to *London*, where he entered in State, and in a kind of *Triumph*, and celebrated his *Victorie* with two dayes of Deuotion, (for the first day he repaired to *Paules*, and had the *Hymne* of *Te Deum* sung, and the morrow after he went in *Proceßion*, and heard the Sermon at the *Crosse*) the *Queene* was with great solemnitie crowned at *Westminster*, the five and twentieth of *Nonember*, in the third yeare of his raigne, which was about two yeares after the marriage; *Like an old Christning, that had stayed long for Godfathers*. Which strange and vnsuall distance of time, made it subiect to euery mans note, that it was an Act against his stomacke, and put vpon him by necessitie and reason of State. Soone after, to shew that it was now faire weather againe, and that the imprisonment of *THOMAS Marquesse Dorset*, was rather vpon suspicion of the Time, then of the Man, hee the said *Marquesse* was set at libertie, without examination, or other circumstance. At that time also the King sent an *Ambassadour* vnto *Pope INNOCENT*, signifying vnto him this his Marriage; and that now (like another *ÆNEAS*) he had passed through the fouds of his former troubles and trauailes, and was arriued vnto a safe *Hauen*: and thanking his *Holineße*, that he had honoured the Celebration of his Marriage with the presence of his *Ambassadour*: and offering both his *Person* and the forces of his *Kingdome* vpon all occasions to doe him seruice.

The *Ambassadour* making his Oration to the *Pope*, in the presence of the *Cardinals*, did so magnifie the *King* and *Queene*, as was enough to glut the Hearers: But then he did againe so extoll and deifie the *Pope*, as made all that he had said in praise of his *Master* and
Mistresse

Mistresse seeme temperate and passable. But hee was very honourably entertained, and extreame much made on by the *Pope*. Who knowing himselfe to bee Lazie and vnprofitable to the *Christian-world*, was wonderfully glad to heare that there were such *Echoes* of him sounding in remote parts. Hee obtained also of the *Pope* a very iust and honourable *Bull*, qualifying the *Priuiledges* of *Sanctuarie* (wherewith the King had beenc extreame gauled) in three points.

The first, that if any *Sanctuarie-man* did by night or otherwise, get out of *Sanctuarie* priuily, and commit mischief and trespasse, and then come in againe, hee should loose the benefit of *Sanctuarie* for euer after. The second, that howsoeuer the *Person* of the *Sanctuarie-man* was protected from his *Creditors*, yet his Goods out of *Sanctuarie* should not. The third, that if any tooke *Sanctuarie* for case of *Treason*, the King might appoint him *Keepers* to looke to him in *Sanctuarie*.

The King also for the better securing of his estate, against mutinous and malcontented Subiects (whereof He saw the *Realme* was full) who might haue their refuge into *Scotland*, which was not vnder Key, as the *Ports* were; For that cause, rather then for any doubt of *Hostilitie* from those parts, before his comming to *London* (when he was at *Newcastle*) had sent a solemne Ambassage vnto *IAMES* the third, King of *Scotland*, to treat and conclude a peace with him. The Ambassadors were *RICHARD FOXE* Bishop of *Excester*, and Sir *RICHARD EDGCOMBE* Comptroller of the Kings house, who were honourably receiued and entertained there. But the King of *Scotland* labouring of the same disease that King *HENRY* did (though more mortall, as afterwards appeared) that is, *Discontented Subiects*, apt to rise, and raise Tumult, although
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in his owne affection hee did much desire to make a Peace with the King; Yet finding his *Nobles* auerse, and not daring to displease them, concluded onely a *Truce* for seuen yeeres; giuing neuerthelesse promise in priuate, that it should bee renewed from time to time, during the two Kings liues.

Hitherto the King had beene exercised in settling his affaires at home. But about this time brake forth an occasion that drew him to looke abroad, and to harken to forraine businesse. CHARLES the eight the French King, by the vertue and good fortune of his two imediate Predecessors, CHARLES the seuenth his *Grand-father*, and LEWES the eleuenth his Father, receiued the Kingdome of *France* in more flourishing and spred Estate, then it had beene of many yeares before; being redintegrate in those principall *Members*, which anciently had beene portions of the Crowne of *France*, and were after disseuered, so as they remayned onely in *Homage*, and not in *Soueraigntie* (being gouerned by absolute Princes of their owne) *Angeou*, *Normandy*, *Prouence*, and *Burgundie*. There remayned only *Brittaine* to be revnited, and so the *Monarchie* of *France* to be reduced to the ancient *Termes* and *Bounds*.

King CHARLES was not a little inflamed with an ambition to repurchase, and reannex that *Duchie*. Which his Ambition was a wise and well weighed Ambition; not like vnto the ambitions of his succeeding enterprizes of *Italie*. For at that time being newly come to the *Crowne*, he was somewhat guided by his Fathers *Counsels* (*Counsels*, not *Counsellors*) for his Father was his owne *Counsell*, and had few able men about him. And that King (he knew well) had euer distasted the designs of *Italie*, and in particular had an eye vpon *Brittaine*. There were many circumstances

stances that did feed the ambition of CHARLES, with pregnant and apparant hopes of *Successe*. The Duke of Britaine old, and entred into a *Lethargie*, and serued with *Mercenarie Councillors*, father of two only daughters, the one sickly and not like to continue. King CHARLES himselfe in the flower of his age, and the Subiects of *France* at that time well trayned for Warre, both for *Leaders* and *Souldiers*; men of seruice being not yet worne out, since the warres of LEWIS against *Burgundie*. He found himselfe also in peace with all his *Neighbour-Princes*. As for those that might oppose to his enterprise; MAXIMILIAN King of *Romans*, his Riual in the same desires, (as well for the *Duchy*, as the *Daughter*) feeble in meanes; and King HENRY of *England* aswell somewhat obnoxious to him for his fauours and benefits, as busied in his particular troubles at home. There was also a faire and specious occasion offered him to hide his ambition, and to iustifie his warring vpon *Britaine*; for that the Duke had receiued, and succoured LEWIS Duke of *Orleance*, and other of the French *Nobilitie*, which had taken Armes against their King. Wherefore King CHARLES being resolved vpon that Warre; knew well he could not receiue any opposition so potent, as if King HENRY, should either vpon *Policie* of State, in preuenting the growing greatnesse of *France*: or vpon gratitude vnto the Duke of *Britaine*, for his former fauours, in the time of his distresse, espouse that quarrell, and declare himselfe in aide of the Duke. Therefore hee no sooner heard that King HENRY was settled by his victorie, but forthwith he sent *Ambassadours* vnto him, to pray his assistance, or at the least that hee would stand neutrall. Which *Ambassadours* found the King at *Leicester*, and deliuered their *Ambassage* to this effect. They first imparted vnto the King the successe that

their *Master* had had a little before against MAXIMILIAN, in recouerie of certaine Townes from him: which was done in a kind of priuacie, and inwardnesse towards the King; as if the *French-King* did not esteeme him for an outward or formall *Confederate*, but as one that had part in his affections and fortunes, and with whom he tooke pleasure to communicate his businesse. After this *Complement*, and some gratulation for the Kings victorie, they fell to their errand; declaring to the King, that their *Master* was enforced to enter into a iust and necessarie Warre with the *Duke of Britaine*, for that hee had receiued and succoured those that were *Traitors*, and Declared Enemies vnto his Person and State. That they were no meane, distressed, and calamitous *Persons* that fled to him for refuge, but of so great qualitie, as it was apparant, that they came not thither to protect their owne fortune, but to infest and inuade his; the *Head* of them being the *Duke of Orleance*, the first *Prince* of the bloud, and the second Person of *France*. That therefore, rightly to vnderstand it, it was rather on their *Masters* part a *Defensiu*e Warre, then an *Offensiu*e; as that, that could not bee omitted or forborne, if he rendred the conseruation of his owne *Estate*; and that it was not the first *Blow* that made the Warre inuasiu, (for that no wise Prince would stay for) but the first *Prouocation*, or at least the first *Preparation*. Nay that this Warre was rather a *Suppression* of *Rebels*, then a Warre with a iust Enemy, where the case is; That his Subiects, *Traitors*, are receiued by the *Duke of Britaine* his *Homager*. That King HENRY knew well what went vpon it in example, if *Neighbour-Princes* should patronize and comfort *Rebels*, against the *Law* of *Nations* and of *Leagues*. Neuerthelesse that their *Master* was not ignorant, that the King had beene beholding to the
Duke

Duke of Britaine in his aduersitie; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the readinesse of their *King*, in ayding him when the *Duke of Britaine*, or his mercenary *Councillors* failed him, and would haue betrayed him; And that there was a great difference betweene the curtesies receiued from their *Master*, and the *Duke of Britaine*; for that the *Dukes* might haue ends of vtilitie and Bargaine; whereas their *Masters* could not haue proceeded but out of entire *Affection*. For that, if it had beene measured by a politike line, it had beene better for his affaires, that a *Tyrant* should haue raigned in *England*, troubled and hated, then such a *Prince*, whose vertues could not faile to make him great and potent, whensoever he was come to be *Master* of his affaires. But howsoever it stood for the point of obligation, which the *King* might owe to the *Duke of Britaine*, yet their *Master* was well assured, it would not diuert King HENRY of *England* from doing that, that was iust, nor euer embarke him in so ill grounded a quarrell. Therefore, since this Warre which their *Master* was now to make, was but to deliuer himselfe from imminent dangers, their *King* hoped the *King* would shew the like affection to the conseruation of their *Masters* estate, as their *Master* had (when time was) shewed to the *Kings* acquisition of his Kingdome. At the least, that according to the inclination which the *King* had euer professed of peace, he would looke on, and stand *Neutrall*; for that their *Master* could not with reason presse him to vndertake part in the Warre, being so newly setled and recouered from intestine seditions. But touching the *Mysterie* of reannexing of the *Duchy of Britaine* to the Crowne of *France*, either by Warre, or by marriage with the Daughter of *Britaine*; the *Ambassadors* bare aloofe from it, as from a *Rocke*, knowing that it made most against them. And therefore by all

meanes declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced in their conference with the King, the assured purpose of their *Master*, to match with the Daughter of MAXIMILIAN; And entertained the King also with some wandring Discourses of their Kings purpose, to recouer by Armes his right to the Kingdome of *Naples*, by an expedition in Person; All to remoue the King from all iealousie of any *Designe*, in these hither Parts vpon *Britaine*, otherwise then for quenching of the fire, which hee feared might bee kindled in his owne estate.

The King after aduice taken with his Councell, made answere to the *Ambassadors*. And first returned their *Complement*, shewing hee was right glad of the *French Kings* reception of those Townes from MAXIMILIAN. Then hee familiarly related some particular passages of his owne aduentures and victorie passed. As to the businesse of *Britaine*, the King answered in few words; That the *French King* and the *Duke of Britaine*, were the two persons to whom hee was most obliged of all men; and that hee should thinke himselfe very vnhappy, if things should goe so betweene them, as he should not be able to acquite himselfe in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no meanes for him as a *Christian King* and a Common friend to them, to satisfie all obligations both to God and Man, but to offer himselfe for a *Mediator* of an *Accord* and *Peace* betweene them; by which course he doubted not but their *Kings* estate and honour both, would bee preserued with more *Safetie* and lesse *Enuie* then by a Warre, and that hee would spare no cost or paines, no if it were *To goe on Pilgrimage*, for so good an effect; And concluded, that in this great *Affaire*, which he tooke so much to heart, hee would expresse himselfe more fully by an *Ambassage*, which he would speedily dispatch vnto the *French King* for that purpose.

pose. And in this sort the French *Ambassadors* were dismissed; The *King* auoiding to vnderstand any thing touching the reannexing of *Britaine*, as the *Ambassadors* had auoided to mention it; saue that hee gaue a little touch of it in the word, *Enuie*. And so it was, that the *King* was neither so shallow, nor so ill aduertised, as not to perceiue the intention of the *French*, for the inuesting himselfe of *Britaine*. But first, he was vtterly vnwilling (howsoeuer hee gaue out) to enter into Warre with *France*. A *Fame* of a Warre he liked well, but not an *Achieuement*; for the one hee thought would make him *Richer*, and the other *Poorer*: and he was possessed with many secret feares, touching his owne people, which hee was therefore loth to arme, and put weapons into their hands. Yet notwithstanding (as a prudent and couragious *Prince*) he was not so auerse from a Warre, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather then to haue *Britaine* carried by *France*, being so great and opulent a *Duchie*, and scituate so opportunely to annoy *England*, either for *Coast*, or *Trade*. But the Kings hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the *French* (especially in the *Court* of a young King) and partly by the native power of *Britaine* it selfe, which was not small; But chiefly in respect of the great *Partie*, that the *Duke of Orleance* had in the Kingdome of *France*, and thereby meanes to stirre vp *Ciuilt* troubles, to diuert the *French-king* from the enterprise of *Britaine*. And lastly, in regard of the power of *MAXIMILIAN*, who was *Corriuall* to the *French King* in that *Pursuit*, the *Enterprize* would eyther bow to a peace, or breake in it selfe. In all which, the *King* measured and valued things amisse, as afterwards appeared. He sent therefore forthwith to the *French King*, *CHRISTOPHER VRSWICKE*, his *Chaplain*, a person by him much trusted and imployed: choosng him the rather, be-
cause

cause he was a *Church-man*, as best sorting with an *Ambassie of Pacification*: and giuing him also a *Commissi-on*, That if the *French King* consented to treat, hee should thence repaire to the *Duke of Britaine*, and ripen the *Treatie* on both parts. *Vrswick* made declaration to the *French King*, much to the purpose of the Kings answere to the *French Ambassadors* here; instilling also tenderly some ouerture of receiuing to grace the *Duke of Orleance*, and some taste of Conditions of Accord. But the *French King* on the other side proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deale of art and dissimulation, in this *Treatie*; hauing for his end to gaine time, and so put off the *English-Succours*, vnder hope of *Peace*, till he had got good footing in *Britaine*, by force of *Armes*. Wherefore he answered the *Ambassadour*, That hee would put himselfe into the Kings hands, and make him *Arbiter* of the *Peace*: and willingly consented, that the *Ambassadour* should straightwayes passe into *Britaine*, to signifie this his consent, and to know the *Dukes* minde likewise; well fore-seeing, that the *Duke of Orleance*, by whom the *Duke of Britaine* was wholly led, taking himselfe to be vpon termes irreconcilable with him, would admit of no *Treatie* of *Peace*. Whereby hee should in one, both generally abroad veyle ouer his Ambition, and winne the reputation of iust and moderate proceedings; and should withall endeare himselfe in the Affections of the *King of England*, as one, that had committed all to his Will: Nay, and (which was yet more fine) make Faith in him, That although he went on with the Warre, yet it should be but with his *Sword* in his hand, to bend the stiffenesse of the other party to accept of *Peace*: and so the *King* should take no vmbrage of his arming and prosecution; but the *Treatie* to be kept on foot, to the very last instant, till hee were *Master of the Field*.

Which

Which grounds being by the *French King* wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the *English Ambassadour* came to the Court of *Britaine*, the *Duke* was then scarcely perfect in his memorie, and all things were directed by the *Duke of Orleance*; who gaue audience to the *Chaplain* VRSWICK, and vpon his *Ambassage* deliuered, made answere in somewhat high termes: That the *Duke of Britaine* hauing beene an *Hoste*, and a kind of *Parent* or *Foster-father* to the King, in his tenderesse of age, and weaknesse of fortune, did looke for at this time from King HENRY (the renowned King of *England*) rather braue *Troupes* for his Succours, then a vaine *Treatie* of Peace. And if the King could forget the good Offices of the *Duke* done vnto him aforetime; yet he knew well, he would in his wisdome consider of the future, how much it imported his owne safetie, and reputation, both in foraine parts, and with his owne people, not to suffer *Britaine* (the old *Confederates* of *England*) to be swallowed vp by *France*, and so many good *Ports*, and strong *Townes* vpon the *Coast*, be in the command of so potent a *Neighbour-King*, and so ancient an *Enemie*. And therefore humbly desired the King to think of this businesse as his owne; and therewith brake of, and denied any further conference for *Treatie*.

VRSWICK returned first to the *French King*, and related to him what had passed. Who finding things to sort to his desire, tooke hold of them, and said; That the *Ambassador* might perceiue now, that which he for his part, partly imagined before. That considering in what hands the *Duke of Britaine* was, there would be no *Peace*, but by a mixt *Treatie* of force and perswasion. And therefore he would goe on with the one, and desired the *King* not to desist from the other. But for his owne part, he did faithfully promise, to bee still in the Kings power, to rule him

him in the matter of Peace. This was accordingly represented vnto the King by VRSWICK at his returne, and in such a fashion, as if the *Treatie* were in no sort desperate, but rather stayed for a better houre, till the *Hammer* had wrought, and bent the *Partie* of *Britaine* more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually *Packets* and *Dispatches* betweene the two *Kings*; from the *One* out of desire, and from the other out of *disimulation*, about the negotiation of Peace. The *French King* meanwhile inuaded *Brittaine* with great forces, and distressed the Citie of *Nantes* with a strait siege, and (as one, who though hee had no great Iudgement, yet had that, that hee could dissemble home) the more he did vrge the prosecution of the *Warre*, the more he did at the same time, vrge the solicitation of the *Peace*. Insomuch as during the siege of *Nantes*, after many Letters and particular messages, the better to maintaine his disimulation, and to refresh the *Treatie*; he sent BERNARD DAVBIGNY (a person of good qualitie) to the King, earnestly to desire him, to make an end of the businesse howsoever.

The King was no lesse readie to reuiue and quicken the *Treatie*; And thereupon sent three Commissioners, the Abbot of *Abington*, Sir RICHARD TUNSTAL, and CHAPLEINE VRSWICK formerly imployed, to doe their vtmost endeaours, to manage the *Treatie* roundly and strongly.

About this time the Lord WOODVILE, (Vncle to the *Queene*) a valiant gentleman, & desirous of honor, sued to the King, that he might raise some *Power* of *Voluntaries* vnder-hand, and without licence or passport (wherein the King might any wayes appeare) goe to the ayde of the *Duke* of *Britaine*. The King denied his request, (or at least seemed so to doe) and layed strait commaundement vpon him, that hee should

should not stirre, for that the King thought his honour would suffer therein, during a *Treatie*, to better a *Partie*. Neuerthelesse this *Lord* (either being vn- nuly, or out of conceipt that the King would not inwardly dislike that, which he would not openly auow) sailed secretly ouer into the Isle of *Wight*, whereof he was *Gouernour*, and leuied a faire *Troupe* of foure hundred Men, and with them passed ouer into *Britaine*, and ioyned himselfe with the *Dukes* Forces. The Newes whereof when it came to the *French Court*, put diuers *Young Bloods* into such a furie, as the *English Ambassadors* were not without perill to be outraged. But the *French King* both to preserue the priuiledge of *Ambassadors*, and being conscious to himselfe, that in the businesse of Peace, hee himselfe was the greater dissembler of the two, forbad all iniuries of fact or word, against their Persons, or Followers. And presently came an *Agent* from the King, to purge himselfe touching the Lord WOODVILES going ouer; vsing for a principall argument, to demonstrate that it was without his priuitie, for that the *Troupes* were so small, as neither had the *Face* of a succour by authoritie, nor could much aduance the *Britaine* affaires. To which message, although the *French King* gaue no full credit, yet he made faire weather with the King, and seemed satisfied. Soone after the *English Ambassadors* returned, hauing two of them beene likewise with the *Duke of Britaine*, and found things in no other termes, then they were before. Vpon their returne, they informed the King of the state of the affaires, and how farre the *French King* was from any true meaning of Peace; and therefore he was now to aduise of some other course. Neither was the King himselfe lead al this while with credulity meerly, as was generally supposed: But his Error was not so much facility of beliefe, as an ill measuring of the forces of the other *Partie*.

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For (as was partly touched before) the King had cast the businesse thus with himselfe. He tooke it for granted in his owne iudgement, that the Warre of *Britaine*, in respect of the strength of the *Townes*, and of the *Partie*, could not speedily come to a *Period*. For he conceiued, that the Counsels of a Warre, that was vnderaken by the *French King*, then childlesse, against an *Heire-apparant* of *France*, would be very faint and slow. And besides, that it was not possible, but that the State of *France* should be imbroiled with some troubles and alterations in fauour of the *Duke of Orleance*. Hee conceiued likewise, that *MAXIMILIAN*, King of the *Romans*, was a Prince warlike and potent; who (he made account) would giue succours to the *Britaines* roundly. So then iudging it would be a worke of *Time*, he laid his plot, how he might best make vse of that *Time*, for his own affaires. Wherein first he thought to make his yantage vpon his *Parliament*; knowing that they being affectionate vnto the quarrell of *Britaine*, would giue treasure largely. Which treasure, as a noise of Warre might draw forth; so a Peace succeeding might cofer vp. And because he knew his people were hot vpon the businesse, he chose rather to seeme to bee deceiued, and lulled asleepe by the *French*, then to bee backward in himselfe; considering his *Subjects* were not so fully capable of the reasons of *State*, which made him hold backe. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient, then to set and keepe on foot a continuall *Treatie of Peace*; laying it downe, and taking it vp againe, as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of Honour, in bearing the blessed person of a *Pacificator*. Hee thought likewise to make vse of the Enuie, that the *French King* met with, by occasion of this Warre of *Britaine*, in strengthening himselfe with new alliances,

ces; as namely that of FERDINANDO of Spaine, with whom he had euer a consent euen in nature and customes; and likewise with MAXIMILIAN, who was particularly interessed. So that in substance he promised himselfe Money, Honour, Friends, and Peace in the end. But those things were too fine to be fortunate, and succeed in all parts; for that great affaires are commonly too rough and stubborn to bee wrought vpon by the finer edges, or points of wit. The King was likewise deceiued in his two maine grounds. For although he had reason to conceiue, that the *Councel* of France would be wary to put the King into a Warre against the *Heire-apparant* of France, yet he did not consider, that CHARLES was not guided by any of the principall of the *Bloud* or *Nobilitie*, but by meane Men, who would make it their *Master-piece* of Credite and Fauour, to giue venturous Counsels, which no great or wise Man durst, or would. And for MAXIMILIAN, he was thought then a *Greater-matter* then hee was; his vnstable and necessitous Courses being not then knowne.

After Consultation with the *Ambassadors*, who brought him no other newes, then he expected before (though he would not seeme to know it till then) he presently summoned his *Parliament*, and in open *Parliament* propounded the cause of Britaine to both *Houses*, by his Chancellor MORTON *Arch-bishop* of *Canterburie*, who spake to this effect.

MY Lords and Masters, The Kings Grace, our Soueraigne Lord, hath commanded me to declare vnto you the causes, that haue moued him at this time to summon this his *Parliament*; which I shall doe in few words,

craving pardon of his Grace, and you all, if I performe it not as I would.

His Grace doth first of all let you know, that he retayneth in thankefull memorie the loue and loyaltie shewed to him by you, at your last Meeting, in establishment of his Royaltie; freeing and discharging of his partakers, and confiscation of his Traytors and Rebels: more then which could not come from Subiects to their Soueraigne, in one Action. This he taketh so well at your hands, as he hath made it a Resolution to himselfe, to communicate with so loving and well approued Subiects, in all Affaires that are of publike nature, at home, or abroad.

Two therefore are the causes of your present assembling: the one, a forraine Businesse; the other, matter of Gouvernement at home.

The French King (as no doubt yee haue heard) maketh at this present hot Warre vpon the Duke of Britaine. His Armie is now before Nantes, and holdeth it straitly besieged, being the principall Citie (if not in Ceremonie and Preheminence, yet in Strength and Wealth) of that Duchie. Yee may guesse at his Hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the Warre first. The cause of this Warre he knoweth best. He alledgeth the entertayning and succouring of the Duke of Orleance, and
some

Some other French Lords, whom the King taketh for his Enemies. Others diuine of other Matters. Both parts haue by their Ambassadors diuers times prayed the Kings Aides: The French King Aides, or Neutralitie; the Britons Aides simply; for so their case requireth. The King, as a Christian Prince, and blessed Sonne of the Holy Church, hath offered himselfe as a Mediator, to treat a Peace betweene them. The French King yeeldeth to treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the Warre. The Britons, that desire Peace most, hearken to it least; not vpon confidence or stiffnesse, but vpon distrust of true meaning, seeing the Warre goes on. So as the King, after as much paines and care to effect a Peace, as euer he tooke in any Businesse, not being able to remooue the Prosecution on the one side, nor the Distrust on the other, caused by that Prosecution, hath let fall the Treatie; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore by this Narrative you now vnderstand the state of the Question, whereupon the King prayeth your aduice: which is no other, but whether hee shall enter into an auxiliarie and defensue Warre for the Britons against France.

And the better to open your vnderstandings
in

in this Affaire, the King hath commanded mee to say somewhat to you from him, of the Persons that doe interuene in this Businesse; and somewhat of the Consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this Kingdome; and somewhat of the Example of it in generall: making neuerthelesse no Conclusion or Iudgement of any Point, vntill his Grace hath receiued your faithfull and politique aduices.

First, for the King our Soueraigne himselfe, who is the principall Person you are to eye in this Businesse; his Grace doth professe, that he truly and constantly desireth to raigne in Peace. But his Grace saith, he will neither buy Peace with Dishonour, nor take it up at Interest of Danger to ensue; but shall thinke it a good Change, if it please God to change the inward Troubles and Seditions, wherewith he hath beene hitherto exercised; into an honourable Forraine Warre. And for the other two Persons in this Action, the French King, and the Duke of Britaine, his Grace doth declare vnto you, that they be the Men, vnto whom he is of all other Friends and Allies most bounden: the One hauing held ouer him his hand of Protection from the Tyrant: the Other hauing reacht forth vnto him his hand of helpe, for the recouerie of his Kingdome. So that his affection toward them in his naturall

all Person, is vpon equall termes. And whereas you may haue heard, that his Grace was enforced to flye out of Britaine into France, for doubts of being betrayed; his Grace would not in any sort haue that reflect vpon the Duke of Britaine, in defacement of his former benefits: for that hee is throughly informed, that it was but the practice of some corrupt persons about him, during the time of his sicknesse, altogether without his consent or priuie.

But howsoeuer these things doe interesse his Grace in his particular, yet hee knoweth well, that the higher Bond that tyeth him to procure by all meanes the safetie and welfare of his louing Subiects, doth dis-interesse him of these Obligations of Gratitude, otherwise then thus: that if his Grace be forced to make a Warre, hee doe it without passion, or ambition.

For the Consequence of this Action towards this Kingdome, it is much as the French Kings intention is. For if it be no more, but to range his Subiects to reason, who beare themselves stout vpon the strength of the Duke of Britaine, it is nothing to vs. But if it be in the French Kings purpose, or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one, as if it were sought, that the French King shall make a Prouince of Britaine, and ioyne it to the
Crowne

Crowne of France: then it is worthy the consideration, how this may import England, as well in the increasement of the greatnesse of France, by the addition of such a Countrey, that stretcheth his Boughes vnto our Seas, as in depriving this Nation, and leauing it naked of so firme and assured Confederates, as the Britons haue alwayes beene. For then it will come to passe, that whereas not long since, this Realme was mightie vpon the Continent, first in Territorie, and after in Alliance, in respect of Burgundie and Britaine, which were Confederates indeed, but dependent Confederates; now the one being already cast, partly into the greatnesse of France, and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatnesse of France, and this Island shall remaine confined in effect within the salt Waters, and girt about with the Coast-Countries of two mightie Monarchs.

For the Example, it resteth likewise vpon the same Question, vpon the French Kings intent. For if Britaine be carried and swallowed vp by France, as the World abroad (apt to impute and construe the Actions of Princes to Ambition) conceiue it will; then it is an Example very dangerous and vniuersall, that the lesser Neighbour Estate should be deuoured of the greater. For this may be the case of Scotland towards

towards England ; of Portugall , towards Spaine ; of the smaller Estates of Italie , towards the greater ; and so of Germanie ; or as if some of you of the Commons , might not liue and dwell safely , besides some of these great Lords. And the bringing in of this Example , will be chiefly laid to the Kings charge , as to him that was most interessed and most able to forbid it. But then on the other side , there is so faire a Pretext on the French Kings Part (and yet Pretext is neuer wanting to Power) in regard the Danger imminent to his owne Estate is such , as may make this Enterprise seeme rather a Worke of Necessitie , then of Ambition , as doth in reason correct the Danger of the Example. For that the Example of that which is done in a mans owne defence , cannot be dangerous ; because it is in anothers power to auoid it. But in all this Businesse , the King remits himselfe to your graue and mature aduice , whereupon hee purposeth to relye.

This was the effect of the Lord Chancellors Speech touching the Cause of Britaine : For the King had commanded him to carry it so , as to affect the Parliament towards the Businesse ; but without engaging the King in any expresse declaration.

The Chancellor went on :

I

For

FOr that which may concerne the Govern-
ment at home, the King hath commanded
me to say unto you; That he thinketh there was
neuer any King (for the small time that hee
hath raigned) had greater and iuster cause of
the two contrary Passions of Joy, and Sorrow,
then his Grace hath. Joy, in respect of the rare
and visible Favours of Almighty God, in gir-
ting the Imperiall Sword vpon his side, and assi-
sting the same his Sword against all his Enimies;
and likewise in blessing him with so many good
and louing Seruants and Subiects, which haue
neuer fayled to giue him faithfull Councell, rea-
die Obedience, and couragious Defence. Sor-
row, for that it hath not pleased God to suffer
him to sheathe his Sword (as hee greatly desired,
otherwise then for Administration of Iustice)
but that hee hath beene forced to draw it so oft,
to cut off Trayterous and disloyall Subiects,
whom (it seemes) God hath left (a few amongst
many good) as the Canaanites amongst the
People of Israel, to be Thornes in their sides,
to tempt and trie them; though the end hath
beene alwayes (Gods Name be blessed there-
fore) that the destruction hath fallen vpon their
owne heads.

Wherefore his Grace sayth; That hee seeth,
that it is not the Bloud spilt in the Field, that
will

will saue the Bloud in the Citie; nor the Marshals Sword, that will set this Kingdome in perfect Peace: But that the true way is, to stop the Seeds of Sedition and Rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpose to deuise, confirme, and quicken good and wholesome Lawes, against Riots, and unlawfull Assemblies of People, and all Combinations and Confederacies of them, by Liueries, Tokens, and other Badges of factions Dependance; that the Peace of the Land may by these Ordinances, as by Barres of Iron, bee soundly bound in and strengthned, and all Force both in Court, Countrey, and priuate Houses, be suppress. The care hereof, which so much concerneth your selues, and which the nature of Times doth instantly call for, his Grace commends to your Wisesdomes.

And because it is the Kings desire, that this Peace, wherein he hopeth to gouerne and maintaine you, doe not beare onely vnto you Leaues, for you to sit vnder the shade of them in safetie; but also should beare you Fruit of Riches, Wealth, and Plentie: Therefore his Grace prayes you, to take into consideration matter of Trade, as also the Manufactures of the Kingdome, and to repressse the bastard and barren Imployment of Moneyes, to Usurie and unlawfull Exchanges; that they may be (as their natu-

rall vse is) turned vpon Commerce, and lawfull and Royall Trading. And likewise, that our People bee set on worke in Arts and Handy-crafts; that the Realme may subsist more of it selfe; that Idlenesse be auoided, and the drayning out of our Treasure, for forraine Manufactures, stopped. But you are not to rest here onely, but to prouide further, that whatsoeuer Merchandize shall be brought in from beyond the Seas, may be imployed vpon the Commodities of this Land; whereby the Kingdomes stocke of Treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished, by any ouer-trading of the Forrainer.

And lastly, because the King is well assured, that you would not haue him poore, that wishes you rich; he doubteth not, but that you will haue care, as well to maintaine his Reuenues of Customs, and all other Natures, as also to supply him with your louing Aides, if the case shall so require. The rather, for that you know the King is a good Husband, and but a Steward in effect for the Publike; and that what comes from you, is but as Moisture drawne from the Earth, which gathers into a Cloud, and falls backe vpon the Earth againe. And you know well, how the Kingdomes about you grow more and more in Greatnesse, and the Times
are

are stirring ; and therefore not fit to finde the King with an emptie Purse. More I haue not to say to you ; and wish , that what hath beene said , had beene better exprest : But that your Wisdomes and good Affections will supply. GOD blesse your Doings.

IT was no hard matter to dispose and affect the Parliament in this businesse ; aswell in respect of the Emulation betweene the Nations , and the Enuie at the late growth of the *French Monarchie* ; as in regard of the Danger , to suffer the *French* to make their approaches vpon *England* , by obtayning so goodly a maritime Prouince , full of Sea-townes , and Hauens , that might doe mischiefe to the *English* , either by inuasion or by interruption of *Traffique*. The Parliament was also moued with the point of *Oppression* ; for although the *French* seemed to speake reason , yet Arguments are euer with multitudes too weake for *Suspi-tions*. Wherefore they did aduise the King , roundly to embrace the *Brittons* quarrell , and to send them speedy aides , and with much alacritie and forwardnesse graunted to the King a great rate of *Subsidie* , in contemplation of these aides . But the King both to keepe a decencie towards the *French King* , to whom he profest himselfe to bee obliged , and indeed desirous rather to shew Warre , then to make it ; sent new solemne Ambassadors to intimate vnto him , the Decree of his Estates , and to iterate his motion , that the *French* would desist from *Hostilitie* ; or if Warre must follow , to desire him to take it in good part , if at the motion of his people , who were sensible of the cause of the *Britens* as their ancient Friends,

Friends, and Confederates, hee did send them succours; with protestation neuerthelesse, that to saue all *Treaties* and *Lawes* of Friendship, he had limited his *Forces*, to proceed in aide of the *Britons*, but in no wise to warre vpon the *French*, otherwise then as they maintained the possession of *Britaine*. But before this formall *Ambassage* arriued, the *Partie* of the *Duke* had receiued a great blowe, and grew to manifest declination. For neere the Towne of Saint *Alban* in *Britaine*, a Battaille had beene giuen, where the *Britons* were ouerthrowne, and the *Duke* of *Orleance*, and the *Prince* of *Orange* taken *Prisoners*, there being slaine on the *Britons* part sixe thousand Men, and amongst them the Lord *WOODVILE*, and almost all his Souldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the *French* part, one thousand two hundred, with their *Leader*, *JAMES GALEOT*, a great *Commander*.

When the newes of this Battaille came ouer into *England*, it was time for the King (who now had no subterfuge to continue further *Treatie*, and saw before his Eyes, that *Britaine* went so speedily for lost, contrarie to his hopes, knowing also that with his People and Forreiners both, he sustained no small Enuie and disreputation for his former delayes) to dispatch with all possible speed his succours into *Britaine*; which he did vnder the conduct of *ROBERT* Lord *BROOKE*, to the number of eight thousand choise Men, and well armed; who hauing a faire wind, in few houres landed in *Britaine*, and ioyned themselues forthwith to those *Briton-Forces*, that remayned after the *Defeat*, and marched straight on to find the *Enemie*, and incamped fast by them. The *French* wisely husbanding the possession of a *Victorie*, and well acquainted with the courage of the *English*, especially when they are fresh, kept themselues within their *Trenches*, being strongly lodged, and resolued not to giue battaile.

But

But meanewhile, to harraſſe and wearie the *English*, they did vpon all aduantages ſet vpon them with their *Light-Horſe*; wherein neuertheſſe they receiued commonly loſſe, eſpecially by meanes of the *English-Archers*.

But vpon theſe atchieuements FRANCIS Duke of Britaine deceaſed; an accident that the King might eaſily haue foreſcene, and ought to haue reckoned vpon, and prouided for, but that the *Point of Reputation*, when newes firſt came of the *Battaile* loſt (that ſome-what muſt bee done) did ouerbear the *Reason of Warre*.

After the *Dukes* deceaſe, the principall perſons of Britaine, partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confuſion; ſo as the *English* not finding Head or Bodie with whom to ioine their Forces, and being in iealouſie of Friends, as well as in danger of Enemies, and the Winter begun, returned home ſiue moneths after their landing. So the *Battaile of Saint Alban*, the death of the Duke, and the retire of the *English-ſuccours* were (after ſome time) the cauſes of the loſſe of that *Duchie*; which action ſome accounted as a blemiſh of the Kings Iudgement; but moſt but as the miſfortune of his times.

But howſoeuer the temporarie Fruit of the *Parliament* in their aide and aduice giuen for Britaine, tooke not, nor prospered ~~not~~; yet the laſting Fruit of *Parliament*, which is good and holſome Lawes, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this day. For according to the Lord Chancelours admonition, there were that *Parliament* diuers excellent Lawes ordained, concerning the Points which the King recommended

Fiſt, the authoritie of the *Star-chamber*, which before ſubiſted by the ancient *Common-Lawes* of the Realme, was confirmed in certaine Caſes by Act of Parlia-

Parliament. This Court is one of the sagest and noblest Institutions of this Kingdome. For in the distribution of Courts of Ordinarie Iustice (besides the High-Court of Parliament) in which distribution the Kings-Bench holdeth the Pleas of the Crowne, the Common-place Pleas Ciuill, the Exchequer Pleas concerning the Kings Reuenue, and the Chancery the Pretorian power for mitigating the Rigour of Law, in case of extremitie, by the conscience of a good man; there was neuertheless alwaies reserved a high and preheminent power to the Kings Councell, in Causes that might in example, or consequence, concerne the state of the Common-wealth; which if they were Criminall, the Councell vsed to sit in the Chamber, called the Star-chamber; if Ciuill, in the White-chamber, or White-hall. And as the Chancerie had the Pretorian power for Equitie; So the Star-chamber had the Censorian power for Offences, vnder the degree of Capitall. This Court of Star-chamber is compounded of good Elements; for it consisteth of foure kinds of Persons; Councillors, Peeres, Prelates, and Chiefe-Iudges. It discerneth also principally of foure kinds of Causes; Forces, Frauds, Crimes various of Stello-nate, and the Inchoations or middle Acts towards Crimes Capitall, or hainous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this Act was Force, and the two chiefe Supports of Force, Combination of multitudes, and Maintenance or Headship of great Persons.

From the generall peace of the Countrie, the Kings care went on to the peace of the Kings House, and the securitie of his great Officers and Councillors. But this Law was somewhat of a strange composition and temper. That if any of the Kings seruants vnder the degree of a Lord, doe conspire the death of any of the Kings Councell, or Lord of the Realme, it is made Capitall. This Law was thought to bee procured by the Lord
Chan-

Chancellor, who being a sterne and haughtie man, and finding he had some mortall Enemies in Court, prouided for his owne safetie; drowning the enuie of it in a generall Law, by communicating the priuiledge with all other Councillors and Peeres, and yet not daring to extend it further, then to the Kings seruants in Checkrowle, least it should haue beene too harsh to the Gentlemen, and other Commons of the Kingdome; who might haue thought their ancient Libertie, and the clemencie of the Lawes of England inuaded, *If the will in any case of Felonie should be made the deed.* And yet the reason which the Act yeeldeth (that is to say, *That he that conspireth the death of Councillors may be thought indirectly, and by a meane, to conspire the death of the King himselfe*) is indifferent to all Subiects, aswell as to Seruants in Court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serue the Lord Chancellors turne at this time. But yet he liued to need a Generall Law, for that hee grew afterwards as odious to the Countrie, as hee was then to the Court.

From the peace of the Kings House, the Kings care extended to the peace of *Private Houses and Families*. For there was an excellent Morall Law moulded thus; The taking and carrying away of Women forcibly, and against their will (except *Female-Wards* and *Bond-women*) was made Capitall. The Parliament wisely and iustly conceiuing, that the obtrayning of Women by force into Possession (howsoeuer afterwards Assent might follow by Allurements) was but a Rape drawne forth in length, because the first Force drew on all the rest.

There was made also another Law for Peace in generall, and repressing of Murthers and Man-slaughters, and was in amendment of the Common Lawes of the Realme, being this: That whereas by the Common Law, the Kings-suit in case of Homicide, did expect The

yeare and the day, allowed to the *Parties Suit* by way of *Appeale*; and that it was found by experience, that the *Partie* was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the *Suit*, so that in the end such *Suit* was let fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby *Prosecution* at the *Kings suit* by *Indictment* (which is euer best, *Flagrante crimine*) neglected; it was ordained, That the *Suit* by *Indictment* might be taken as well at any time within the *yeare and the day*, as after; not preiudicing neuerthelesse the *Parties Suit*.

The King began also then, as well in *Wisdomie* as in *Iustice*, to pare a little the *Priviledge* of *Clergie*, ordaining, That *Clarkes* convict should be burned in the hand; both because they might taste of some corporall punishment, and that they might carry a *Brand* of infamie. But for this good Acts sake, the King himselfe was after branded by PERKINS Proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the Rites of *Holy Church*.

Another *Law* was made for the better Peace of the *Countrey*; by which *Law*, the *Kings Officers* and *Farmors* were to forfeit their *Places* and *Holds*, in case of vnlawfull *Retainer*, or partaking in *Routs* and vnlawfull *Assemblies*.

These were the *Lawes* that were made for repressing of Force, which those times did chiefly require; and were so prudently framed, as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politike *Lawes* that *Parliament* against *Vsurie*, which is the *Bastard vse* of Money; And against vnlawfull *Chieuances* and *Exchanges*, which is *Bastard Usurie*; And also for the securitie of the *Kings Customs*; And for the imployment of the *Procedures* of *Forraine Commodities*, brought in by *Merchant-strangers*, vpon the *Natiue Commodities* of the *Realme*; Together with some other *Lawes* of lesse importance.

But

But howsoeuer the *Lawes* made in that *Parliament* did beare good and wholesome Fruit; yet the *Subsidie* granted at the same time, bare a Fruit, that proued harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the Kings Barne; but it was after a *Storme*. For when the *Commissioners* entred into the Taxation of the *Subsidie* in *Yorkeeshire*, and the *Bishopricke* of *Duresme*; the people vpon a sudaine grew into great mutinie, and said openly, that they had indured of late yeares a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the *Subsidie*. This (no doubt) proceeded not simply of any present necessitie, but much by reason of the old humour of those Countries, where the memorie of King RICHARD was so strong, that it lay like *Lees* in the bottome of mens hearts; and if the *Vessel* was but stirred, it would come vp. And (no doubt) it was partly also by the instigation of some factious *Malcontents*, that bare principall stroke amongst them. Hereupon the *Commissioners* being somewhat astonished, deferred the matter vnto the *Earle* of *Northumberland*, who was the principall man of Authoritie in those Parts. The *Earle* forthwith wrote vnto the *Court*, signifying to the King plainly enough in what flame hee found the people of those Countries, and praying the Kings direction. The King wrote backe peremptorily, That hee would not haue one penny abated, of that which had beene granted to him by *Parliament*; both because it might encourage other Countries, to pray the like *Release*, or Mitigation; and chiefly, because hee would neuer endure, that the base *Multitude* should frustrate the Authoritie of the *Parliament*, wherein their *Votes* and Consents were concluded. Vpon this dispatch from Court, the *Earle* assembled the principall *Iustices* and *Free-holders* of the Counrey; and speaking to them in that imperious Language wherein the King had written to him,

which needed not (saue that an *Harsh-businesse* was vnfortunately fallen into the hands of a *Harsh-man*) did not onely irritate the People, but make them conceiue, by the stoutnesse and haughtinesse of deliuerie of the Kings Errand, that himselfe was the Author or principall Perswader of that Councell. Whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assailing the *Earle* in his House, slew him, and diuers of his seruants. And rested not there, but creating for their Leader Sir IOHN EGREMONT, a factious person, and one that had of a long time borne an ill *Talent* towards the King; and being animated also by a base Fellow, called IOHN A CHAMBER, a very *Bontefeu*, who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entred into open *Rebellion*; and gaue out in flat termes, that they would goe against King HENRY, and fight with him for the maintenance of their *Liberties*.

When the King was aduertised of this new *Insurrection* (being almost a *Feuer*, that tooke him euery yeare) after his manner litle troubled therewith, he sent THOMAS Earle of Surrey (whom he had a little before not onely released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also receiued to speciall fauour) with a competent Power against the *Rebels*; who fought with the principall Band of them, and defeated them, and tooke aliue IOHN A CHAMBER, their firebrand. As for Sir IOHN EGREMONT, hee fled into *Flanders*, to the Ladie MARGARET of *Burgundie*; whose Palace was the *Sanctuarie* and Receptacle of all Traitors against the King. IOHN A CHAMBER was executed at *Yorke*, in great state; for he was hanged vpon a Gibbet raised a Stage higher in the midst of a square *Gallowes*, as a *Traiter Paramount*; And a number of his men that were his chiefe *Complices*, were hanged vpon the lower Storie round about

about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the King himselfe omit his custome, to be first or second in all his warlike Exploits; making good his Word, which was vsuall with him when he heard of *Rebels*; that *He desired but to see them*. For immediatly after he had sent downe the *Earle of Surrey*, hee marched towards them himselfe in person. And although in his Iourney he heard newes of the Victorie, yet he went on as farre as *Yorke*, to pacifie and settle those Countries. And that done returned to *London*, leauing the *Earle of Surrey* for his *Lieutenant* in the *Northerne parts*, and Sir RICHARD TYNSTALL for his principall *Commissioner*, to leuie the *Subsidie*, whereof he did not remit a *Denier*.

About the same time that the King lost so good a Seruant, as the *Earle of Northumberland*, he lost likewise a faithfull friend and Allie of IAMES the third, King of *Scotland*, by a miserable disaster. For this vnfortunate *Prince*, after a long smother of discontent, and hatred of many of his *Nobilitie* and *People*, breaking forth at times into seditions and alterations of *Court*, was at last distressed by them, hauing taken Armes, and surpris'd the person of *Prince IAMES* his sonne, partly by force, partly by threats, that they would otherwise deliuer vp the *Kingdome* to the King of *England*, to shadow their Rebellion, and to bee the titular and painted Head of those Armes. Whereupon the King (finding himselfe too weake) sought vnto King HENRY, as also vnto the *Pope*, and the King of *France*, to compose those troubles, betweene him and his Subiects. The Kings accordingly interposed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner: Not only by way of request and perswasion, but also by way of protestation and menace; declaring, that they thought it to be the common Cause of all Kings, *If Subiects should be suffered to giue Lawes*
vnto

unto their *Soueraigne*; and that they would accordingly resent it, and reuenge it. But the *Rebels* that had shaken off the greater *roke* of Obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser *Tye* of Respect. And *Furie* preuayling aboue *Feare*, made answer; That there was no talking of Peace, except the King would resigne his Crowne. Whereupon (Treatie of Accord taking no place) it came to a *Battaile*, at *Bannocks-Bourne* by *Striuelin*. In which *Battaile* the King transported with wrath and iust indignation, inconsiderately fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came vp to him, was (notwithstanding the contrarie expresse and strait commandement of the *Prince* his sonne) slaine in the Pursuit, being fled to a Mill, scituate in the field, where the *Battaile* was fought.

As for the *Popes* Ambassie, which was sent by ADRIAN DE CASTELLO an *Italian* *Legate* (and perhaps as those times were might haue preuailed more) it came too late for the *Ambassie*, but not for the *Ambassador*. For passing through *England*, and being honourably entertained, and receiued of King HENRY; (who euer applied himselfe with much respect to the *See* of *Rome*) he fell into great grace with the King, and great familiaritie and friendship with MORTON the *Chancellor*. In so much as the King taking a liking to him, and finding him to his mind, preferred him to the Bishopricke of *Hereford*, and afterwards to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, and imployed him in many of his affaires of *State*, that had relation to *Rome*. He was a man of great learning, wisedome, and dexteritie in businesse of *State*; and hauing not long after ascended to the degree of *Cardinall*, payd the King large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and iudicious aduertisement of the occurrents of *Italie*. Neuerthelesse in the end of his time, hee was
parta-

partaker of the Conspiracie, which Cardinall ALPHONSO PETRUCI, and some other Cardinals had plotted against the life of Pope LEO. And this offence in it selfe so hainous, was yet in him aggrauated by the motiue thereof, which was not malice or discontent, but an aspiring mind to the *Papacie*. And in this height of impietie there wanted not an intermixture of leuitie and follie; for that (as was generally belicued) hee was animated to expect the *Papacie*, by a fatall *Mockerie*, the prediction of a *South-sayer*, which was; *That one should succeed Pope LEO, whose name should be ADRIAN, an aged man of meane birth, and of great learning and wisdom.* By which Character and figure, he tooke himselfe to be described, though it were fulfilled of ADRIAN the Flemming, sonne of a Dutch Brewer, Cardinall of Tortosa, and Preceptor vnto CHARLES the Fift; the same that not changing his Christen-name, was afterwards called ADRIAN the Sixt.

But these things happened in the yeare following, which was the fift of this King. But in the end of the fourth yeare the King had called againe his *Parliament*, not as it seemeth for any particular occasion of *State*. But the former *Parliament* being ended somewhat sodainly, in regard of the preparation for *Britaine*, the King thought he had not remunerated his people sufficiently with good *Lawes*, which euermore was his Retribution for *Treasure*. And finding by the *Insurrection* in the *North*, there was discontentment abroad, in respect of the *Subsidie*; he thought it good to giue his Subjects yet further contentment, and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good *Common-wealths Lawes* did excell. So as he may iustly be celebrated for the best *Law-giuer* to this Nation, after King EDWARD the first. For his *Lawes* (who so markes them well) are deepe, and not vulgar;

gar ; not made vpon the *Spurre* of a particular Occasion for the *Present* , but out of Prouidence of the *Future* , to make the Estate of his People still more and more happie ; after the manner of the *Legislators* in ancient and Heroicall Times.

First therefore he made a *Law*, sutable to his owne Acts and Times. For as himselfe had in his Person and Marriage made a finall Concord, in the great Suit and Title for the *Crowne* ; so by this *Law* he settled the like Peace and Quiet in the priuate Possessions of the Subiects. Ordayning, *That Fines thence-forth should be finall, to conclude all Strangers Rights* ; and that vpon *Fines* leuied, and solemnely proclaymed , the Subiect should haue his time of Watch for five yeares after his Title accrued ; which if hee fore-passed, his Right should be bound for euer after ; with some exception neuerthelesse, of *Minors, Married-Women*, and such incompetent Persons.

This *Statute* did in effect but restore an ancient Statute of the Realme, which was it selfe also made but in affirmance of the *Common Law*. The alteration had beene by a *Statute*, commonly called the *Statute of Non-claime*, made in the time of EDWARD the Third. And surely this *Law* was a kind of *Prognostick* of the good Peace, which since his time hath (for the most part) continued in this Kingdome, vntill this day. For *Statutes of Non-claime* are fit for times of Warre, when mens heads are troubled, that they cannot intend their Estate ; But *Statutes*, that quiet *Possessions* are fittest for Times of Peace, to extinguish Suites and Contentions, which ~~are a~~ the Banes of Peace.

Another *Statute* was made of singular *Policie*, for the Population apparantly , and (if it bee thoroughly considered) for the *Souldierie*, and *Militar Forces* of the Realme.

Inclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby Arable Land (which could not be manured without People and Families) was turned into Pasture, which was easily rid by a few *Heards-men*; and Tenancies for *Yeares*, *Lines*, and *At Will* (whereupon much of the *Yeomanrie* liued) were turned into Demesnes. This bred a decay of People, and (by consequence) a decay of *Townes*, *Churches*, *Tithes*, and the like. The King likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued withall vpon this a decay and diminution of *Subsidies* and *Taxes*; for the more Gentlemen, euer the lower Bookes of *Subsidies*. In remedying of this inconuenience, the Kings Wisdome was admirable, and the *Parliaments* at that time. *Inclosures* they would not forbid, for that had beene to forbid the improuement of the *Patrimonic* of the Kingdome; nor *Tillage* they would not compell, for that was to striue with Nature and Vtilitie. But they tooke a course to take away depopulating *Inclosures*, and depopulating *Pasturage*, and yet not by that name, or by any Imperious expresse *Prohibition*, but by consequence. The *Ordinance* was, *That all Houses of Husbandry, that were vsed with twentie Acres of Ground, and vpwards, should be maintained and kept vp for euer; together with a competent Proportion of Land to be vsed and occupied with them; and in no wise to bee seuered from them, as by another Statute, made afterwards in his Successors time, was more fully declared. This vpon Forfeiture to be taken, not by way of Popular Action, but by seizure of the Land it selfe, by the King and Lords of the Fee, as to halfe the Profits, till the Houses and Land were restored. By this meanes the Houses being kept vp, did of necessitie inforce a Dweller; and the proportion of Land for Occupation being kept vp, did of necessitie inforce that Dweller not to be a Begger or Cottager, but a man*

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of some substance, that might keepe Hiends and Seruants, and set the Plough on going. This did wonderfully concerne the *Might* and *Manner-hood* of the Kingdome, to haue Fermes, as it were of a *Standerd*, sufficient to maintaine an able Body out of Penurie, and did in effect amortize a great part of the Lands of the Kingdome vnto the Hold and Occupation of the *reomanrie* or *Middle-People*, of a Condition betweene *Gentlemen*, and *Cottagers*, or *Pesants*. Now, how much this did aduance the *Militar Power* of the Kingdome, is apparant by the true *Principles* of Warre, and the Examples of other Kingdomes. For it hath beene held by the generall Opinion of men of best Iudgement in the Warres (howsoeuer some few haue varied, and that it may receiue some distinction of Case) that the principall Strength of an Armie consisteth in the *Infanterie* or *Foot*. And to make good *Infanterie*, it requireth men bred, not in a seruile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentifull manner. Therefore if a *State* runne most to *Noble-men* and *Gentlemen*, and that the *Husband-men* and *Plough-men* be but as their Work-folkes and Labourers, or else meere *Cottagers* (which are but *Housed-Beggars*) you may haue a good *Caualerie*, but neuer good stable Bands of *Foot*; like to *Coppice-Woods*, that if you leaue in them *Staddles* too thicke, they will runne to Bushes and Briars, and haue little cleane Vnder-wood. And this is to be seene in *France*, and *Italie*, and some other Parts abroad, where in effect all is *Noblesse*, or *Pesantrie*. I speake of People out of Townes, and no Middle People; and therefore no good Forces of *Foot*: Insomuch, as they are inforced to imploy Mercenarie Bands of *Switzers*, and the like, for their *Battalions* of *Foot*. Whereby also it comes to passe, that those *Nations* haue much People, and few *Souldiors*. Whereas the King saw, that contrariwise

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it would follow, that *England*, though much lesse in Territorie, yet should haue infinitely more *Soldiours* of their natie Forces, then those other Nations haue. Thus did the King secretly sowe *Hidraes* teeth, where-vpon (according to the *Poets* fiction) should rise vp *Armed men* for the seruice of this Kingdome.

The King also (hauing care to make his Realme potent, aswell by *Sea* as by *Land*) for the better maintenance of the *Nauie*, ordained; *That wines and woads from the parts of Gascoigne and Languedocke, should not be brought but in English bottomes*; Bowing the ancient Policie of this Estate, from consideration of *Plentie*, to consideration of *Power*. For that almost all the ancient *Statutes* incite by all meanes *Merchants-Strangers*, to bring in all sorts of *Commodities*; ha- uing for end *Cheapnesse*, and not looking to the point of *State* concerning the *Nauall-power*.

The King also made a *Statute* in that *Parliament*, Monitory and Minatory, towards *Iustices of Peace*, that they should duly execute their office, inuicing complaints against them, first to their *Fellow-Iustices*, then to the *Iustices of Assise*, then to the *King* or *Chancellor*; and that a *Proclamation*, which hee had published of that Tenor, should be read in open *Sessions* foure times a yeare, to keepe them awake. Meaning also to haue his lawes executed, and thereby to reape either *Obedience* or *Forfeitures*; (wherein towards his latter times he did decline too much to the left hand) he did ordaine remedie against the practice that was growne in vse, to stop and dampe *Informations* vpon *Penall Lawes*, by procuring *Informations* by collusion to be put in by the Confederates of the Delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at pleasure, and pleading them in Barre of the *Informations*, which were prosecuted with effect.

He made also *Lawes* for the correction of the *Mint*,

and counterfaiting of forreine *Coyne* currant. And that no payment in *Gold*, should bee made to any *Merchant-stranger*, the better to keepe *Treasure* within the *Realme*, for that *Gold* was the mettall that lay in least roome.

He made also *Statutes* for the maintenance of *Draperie*, and the keeping of *Woolles* within the *Realme*; and not only so, but for stinting, and limiting the prices of *Cloth*, one for the *Finer*, and another for the *Courser* sort. Which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set prices by *Statute*, especially vpon our Home-Commodities; and because of the wise *Modele* of this *Act*, not prescribing Prices, but stinting them not to exceed a rate; that the *Clothier* might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Diuers other good *Statutes* were made that *Parliament*, but these were the principall. And here I doe desire those, into whose hands this worke shall fall, that they do take in good part my long insisting vpon the *Lawes*, that were made in this Kings raigne. Whereof I haue these reasons; Both because it was the pre eminent vertue and merite of this King, to whose memorie I doe honour; and because it hath some correspondence to my Person; but chiefly, because (in my iudgement) it is some defect euen in the best writers of *Historie*, that they doe not often enough summarily deliuer and set downe the most memorable *Lawes*, that passed in the times whereof they writ, being indeed the principall *Acts* of Peace. For though they may bee had in *Originall Bookes* of *Law* themselves; yet that informeth not the iudgement of *Kings* and *Councillors*, and *Persons* of *Estate*, so well, as to see them described, and entred in the *Table* and *Pourtrait* of the Times.

About the same time, the King had a *Loane* from the *Citie* of *Foure thousand pounds*; which was double

to that they lent before, and was duely and orderly payd backe at the day, as the former likewise had beene. The King euer choosing rather to borrow too soone, then to pay too late, and so keeping vp his Credit.

Neither had the King yet cast of his cares and hopes touching *Britaine*, but thought to master the occasion by Policie, though his Armes had beene vnfortunate, and to bereaue the *French King* of the fruit of his *Victorie*. The summe of his designe was, to encourage MAXIMILIAN to goe on with his suit, for the marriage of ANNE, the heire of *Britaine*, and to aide him to the consumnation thereof. But the affaires of MAXIMILIAN were at that time in great trouble and combustion, by a *Rebellion* of his Subiects in *Flanders*; especially those of *Bruges* and *Gannt*, whereof the Towne of *Bruges* (at such time as MAXIMILIAN was there in person) had sodainly armed in tumult, and slaine some of his principall Officers, and taken himselfe prisoner, and held him in durance, till they had enforced him, and some of his Councillors, to take a solemne oath, to pardon all their offences, and neuer to question and reuenge the same in time to come. Neuerthelesse FREDERIQUE the *Emperour* would not suffer this reproach and indignitie offered to his sonne to passe, but made sharpe warres vpon *Flanders*, to reclaime and chastise the *Rebels*. But the Lord RAVENSTEIN, a principall person about MAXIMILIAN, and one that had taken the oath of *Abolition* with his Master, pretending the Religion thereof, but indeed vpon priuate ambition, and (as it was thought) instigated and corrupted from *France*, forsooke the *Emperour* and MAXIMILIAN his Lord, and made himselfe an Head of the *Popular Partie*, and seized vpon the Townes of *Ipre* and *Sluce*, with both the *Castels*. And forthwith
sent

sent to the Lord C O R D E S , Gouvernour of *Picardie* vnder the *French King*, to desire aide, and to moue him, that he on the behalfe of the *French King* would bee *Protector* of the *United Townes*, and by force of *Armes* reduce the rest. The Lord C O R D E S was readie to embrace the occasion, which was partly of his owne setting, and sent forthwith greater *Forces*, then it had beene possible for him to raise on the sodaine, if he had not looked for such a summons before, in aide of the Lord R A V E N S T E I N , and the *Flemmings*, with instructions to inuest the Townes betweene *France* and *Bruges*. The *French Forces* besieged a little Towne called *Dixmue*, where part of the *Flemmish Forces* ioyned with them. While they lay at this siege, the *King* of *England*, vpon pretence of the safety of the *English Pale* about *Calice*, but in truth being loth that M A X I M I L I A N should become contemptible, and thereby bee shaken of by the States of *Britaine* about this marriage, sent ouer the Lord M O R L E Y with a thousand men vnto the Lord D A V B I G N Y , then Deputie of *Calice*, with secret instructions to aide M A X I M I L I A N , and to raise the siege of *Dixmue*. The Lord D A V B I G N Y (giuing it out that all was for the strengthening of the *English Marches*) drew out of the *Garrisons* of *Calice*, *Hammes*, and *Guines*, to the number of a thousand Men more. So that with the fresh Succours that came vnder the Conduct of the Lord M O R L E Y , they made vp to the number of two thousand, or better. Which *Forces* ioyning with some Companies of *Almaines*, put themselues into *Dixmue*, not perceiued by the Enemies; and passing through the Towne with some reenforcement (from the *Forces* that were in the Towne) assailed the Enemies Campe, negligently guarded, as being out of feare; where there was a bloody fight, in which the *English* and their *Partakers* ob-

obtained the victorie, and flew to the number of eight thousand Men, with the losse on the *English* part of a hundred or thereabouts; amongst whom was the Lord MORLEY. They tooke also their great Ord'nance, with much rich spoiles, which they carried to *Newport*; whence the Lord DAVBIGNY returned to *Calice*, leauing the hurt Men, and some other Voluntaries in *Newport*. But the Lord CORDES being at *Ipre* with a great power of Men, thinking to recouer the losse and disgrace of the fight at *Dixmue*, came presently on, and sate downe before *Newport*, and besieged it; and after some dayes siege, he resolved to trie the fortune of an *Affault*: Which hee did one day, and succeeded therein so farre, that hee had raken the principall Tower and Fort in that Citie, and planted vpon it the *French* Banner. Whence neuerthelesse they were presently beaten forth by the *English*, by the helpe of some fresh Succours of Archers, arriuing by good fortune (at the instant) in the Hauens of *Newport*. Whereupon the Lord CORDES discouraged, and measuring the new Succours (which were small) by the successe (which was great) leuied his Siege. By this meanes, matters grew more exasperate betweene the two Kings of *England* and *France*, for that in the Warre of *Flanders*, the auxiliarie Forces of *French* and *English* were much blouded one against another. Which Bloud rankled the more, by the vaine wordes of the Lord CORDES, that declared himselfe an open Enemy of the *English*, beyond that that appertayned to the present Seruice; making it a common byword of his, *That hee could be content to lye in Hell seuen yeares, so hee might winne Calice from the English*.

The King hauing thus vpheld the Reputation of MAXIMILIAN, aduised him now to presse on his
Mar-

Marriage with *Britaine* to a conclusion. Which M A X I M I L I A N accordingly did, and so farre forth pre-
 uayled, both with the young *Lady*, and with the prin-
 cipall Persons about her, as the Marriage was consum-
 mate by *Proxie*, with a *Ceremonie* at that time in these
 Parts new. For shee was not onely publikely contra-
 cted, but stated as a *Bride*, and solemnely Bedded;
 and after shee was layd, there came in M A X I M I L I A N S *Ambassadour* with Letters of *Procuracion*, and
 in the presence of sundry Noble Personages, Men
 and Women, put his Legge (stript naked to the Knee)
 betweene the Espousall Sheets; to the end, that that
Ceremonie might be thought to amount to a *Consum-*
mation, and actuall Knowledge. This done, M A X I M I L I A N (whose propertie was to leaue things then,
 when they were almost come to perfection, and to
 end them by imagination; like ill Archers, that draw
 not their Arrowes vp to the Head; and who might
 as easily haue bedded the *Lady* himselfe, as to haue
 made a *Play* and *Disguise* of it) thinking now all as-
 sured, neglected for a time his further Proceeding, and
 intended his Warres. Meane while, the *French King*
 (consulting with his *Diuines*, and finding that this pre-
 tended *Consummation* was rather an *Inuention* of Court,
 then any wayes valide by the Lawes of the Church)
 went more really to worke, and by secret Instruments
 and cunning Agents, as well *Matrons* about the young
Lady, as *Counsellors*, first sought to remoue the Point
 of *Religion* and *Honour* out of the minde of the *Lady*
 her selfe, wherein there was a double labour. For
 M A X I M I L I A N was not onely contracted vnto the
Lady, but M A X I M I L I A N S daughter was likewise
 contracted to King C H A R L E S. So as the *Marriage*
halted vpon both feet, and was not cleare on the other
 side. But for the *Contract* with King C H A R L E S, the
 Exception lay plaine and faire; for that M A X I M I L I A N S

LIANS daughter was vnder yeares of *Consent*, and so not bound by Law, but a power of Disagreement left to eyther part. But for the *Contract* made by MAXIMILIAN with the *Lady* her selfe, they were harder driuen: hauing nothing to alledge, but that it was done without the consent of her *Soueraigne* Lord, King CHARLES, whose *Ward* and *Client* shee was, and Hee to her in place of a Father; and therefore it was void, and of no force, for want of such Consent. Which defect (they said) though it would not euacuate a *Marriage*, after *Cohabitation*, and *Actuall Consummation*; yet it was enough to make void a *Contract*. For as for the pretended *Consummation*, they made sport with it, and said: *That it was an argument, that MAXIMILIAN was a Widdower, and a cold Wouer, that could content himselfe to be a Bridegroom* by *Deputie*, and would not make a little Iourney, to put all out of question. So that the young *Lady*, wrought vpon by these Reasons, finely instilled by such as the *French King* (who spared for no Rewards or Promises) had made on his side; and allured likewise by the present Glory and Greatnesse of King CHARLES, (being also a young King, and a *Batchelor*) and loth to make her Countrey the Seat of a long and miserable Warre; secretly yelded to accept of King CHARLES. But during this secret *Treatie* with the *Lady*, the better to saue it from Blasts of Opposition and Interruption, King CHARLES resorting to his wonted Arts, and thinking to carry the *Marriage*, as hee had carryed the Warres, by entertaining the King of *England* in vaine beliefe, sent a solemne *Ambassage* by FRANCIS Lord of *Luxemburgh*, CHARLES MARRIGNIAN and ROBERT GAGVIEN, Generall of the *Order* of the *Bonnes-Hommes* of the *Trinitie*, to treat a Peace and League with the King; accoupling it with an *Article* in the nature of a *Request*, that the

French King might with the Kings good will (according vnto his right of *Seigniorie* and *Tutelage*) dispose of the Marriage of the young *Duchesse* of *Britaine*, as he should thinke good; offering by a Iudiciall proceeding to make void the Marriage of MAXIMILIAN by *Proxie*. Also all this while the better to amuse the world, he did continue in his Court and custodie the Daughter of MAXIMILIAN, who formerly had beene sent vnto him, to bee bred and educated in *France*; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise professing and giuing out strongly, that hee meant to proceed with that Match. And that for the *Duchesse* of *Britaine*, he desired onely to preferue his right of *Seigniory*, and to giue her in Marriage to some such *Allye*, as might depend vpon him.

When the three Commissioners came to the Court of *England*, they deliuered their *Ambassage* vnto the King, who remitted them to his *Councell*; where some dayes after they had Audience, and made their Proposition by the *Prior* of the *Trinitie* (who though he were third in place, yet was held the best Speaker of them) to this effect.

MY Lords, the King our Master, the greatest and mightiest King that raigned in France since CHARLES the Great (whose Name he beareth) hath neuerthelesse thought it no disparagement to his Greatnesse, at this time to propound a Peace, yea, and to pray a Peace with the King of England. For which purpose hee hath sent vs his Commissioners, instructed and enabled with full and ample power,
to

to treat and conclude ; giuing vs further in charge, to open in some other businesse the secrets of his owne intentions. These be indeed the precious Loue-tokens betweene great Kings , to communicate one with another the true state of their affaires , and to passe by nice Points of Honour, which ought not to giue Law vnto Affection. This I doe assure your Lordships ; It is not possible for you to imagine the true and cordiall Loue , that the King our Master beareth to your Soueraigne , except you were neare him, as we are. He vseth his Name with so great respect ; he remembreth their first acquaintance at Paris with so great contentment ; nay, he neuer speaks of him, but that presently he falls into discourse of the miseries of great Kings , in that they cannot conuerse with their Equalls , but with Seruants. This affection to your Kings Person and Vertues, GOD hath put into the Heart of our Master , no doubt for the good of Christendome, and for purposes yet vnknowne to vs all. For other Roote it cannot haue , since it was the same to the Earle of Richmond, that it is now to the King of England. This is therefore the first motiue that makes our King to desire Peace , and League with your Soueraigne: Good affection, and somewhat that hee findes in his owne Heart. This affection is also armed

with reason of Estate. For our King doth in all candour and franknesse of dealing open himselfe vnto you; that hauing an honourable, yea, and a holy Purpose, to make a Voyage and Warre in remote Parts, he considereth that it will be of no small effect, in point of Reputation to his enterprise, if it be knowne abroad, that he is in good peace with all his Neighbour Princes, and specially with the King of England, whom for good causes he esteemeth most.

But now (my Lords) giue me leaue to vse a few words to remoue all scruples and misse-vnderstandings, betweene your Soueraigne and ours, concerning some late Actions; which if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this Peace. To the end, that for matters past, neither King may conceiue unkindnesse of other, nor thinke the other conceiueth unkindnesse of him. The late Actions are two; That of Brittain, and that of Flanders. In both which, it is true, that the Subjects swords of both Kings haue encountered and stricken, and the wayes and inclinations also of the two Kings, in respect of their Confederates and Allies, haue scuered.

For that of Brittain; The King your Soueraigne knoweth best what hath passed. It was a Warre of necessitie on our Masters part. And though the Motiues of it were sharpe and piquant

quant as could be, yet did he make that Warre rather with an Olive-branch, then a Laurel-branch in his Hand, more desiring Peace then Victorie. Besides, fromtime totime he sent (as it were) Blank-papers to your King, to write the conditions of Peace. For though loth his Honour and Safetie went vpon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious, to put into the King of Englands hands. Neither doth our King on the other side make any vnfriendly interpretation, of your Kings sending of succours to the Duke of Brittain; for the King knoweth well, that many things must be done of Kings for satisfaction of their People, and it is not hard to discern what is a Kings owne. But this matter of Brittain is now (by the Act of GOD) ended and passed; and (as the King hopeth) like the way of a Ship in the Sea, without leaving any impression in either of the Kings mindes; as hee is sure for his part it hath not done in his.

For the Action of Flanders; As the former of Brittain was a Warre of necessitie, so this was a Warre of iustice; which with a good King is of equall necessitie with danger of Estate, for else he should leaue to bee a King. The Subiects of Burgundie are Subiects in Chiefe to the Crowne of France, and their Duke the Homager and Vassall of France. They had wont to bee good Sub-

Subiects, howsoever MAXIMILIAN hath of late distempred them. They fled to the King for Iustice, and deliuerance from oppression. Iustice he could not denie; Purchase he did not seeke. This was good for MAXIMILIAN, if he could haue seene it in people mutined, to arrest Fury, and preuent Despaire. My Lords, it may be this I haue said is needlesse, saue that the King our Master is tender in any thing, that may but glance vpon the friendship of England. The amitie betweene the two Kings (no doubt) stands entire and inuiolate. And that their Subiects swords haue clashed, it is nothing vnto the publike Peace of the Crownes; it being a thing very vsuall in auxiliarie Forces of the best and straitest Confederates, to meete and draw bloud in the Field. Nay, many times there bee Aides of the same Nation on both sides, and yet it is not (for all that) A Kingdome diuided in it selfe.

It resteth (my Lords) that I impart vnto you a matter, that I know your Lordships all will much reioyce to heare; as that which importeth the Christian Common-weale more, then any Action that hath happened of long time. The King our Master hath a purpose and determination, to make Warre vpon the kingdome of Naples; being now in the possession of a Bastardslip of Ar-

Arragon, but appertayning vnto his Maiestie, by cleare and vndoubted right; which if hee should not by iust Armes seeke to recouer, hee could neither acquite his Honour, nor answere it to his People. But his Noble and Christian thoughts rest not here. For his Resolution and Hope is, to make the Re-conquest of Naples, but as a Bridge, to transport his Forces into Grecia; and not to spare Bloud or Treasure (if it were to the impawning of his Crowne, and dis-peopling of France) till either hee hath ouerthrowne the Empire of the OTTOMANS, or taken it in his way to Paradise. The King knoweth well, that this is a designe, that could not arise in the minde of any King, that did not stedfastly looke vp vnto GOD, whose quarrell this is, and from whom commeth both the Will, and the Deed. But yet it is agreeable to the Person that hee beareth (though vnworthy) of the Thrice-Christian King, and the eldest Sonne of the Church. Whereunto he is also inuited by the Example (in more ancient time) of King HENRY the Fcurth of England, (the first Renowned King of the House of LANCASTER; Ancestour, though not Progenitour to your King) who had a purpose towards the end of his time (as you know better) to make an Expedition into the Holy-Land; and

and by the Example also (present before his eyes) of that Honourable and Religious Warre which the King of Spaine now maketh, and hath almost brought to perfection, for the recoverye of the Realme of Granada from the Moores. And although this Enterprise may seeme vast and vnrmeasured, for the King to attempt that by his owne Forces, wherein heretofore a Coniunction of most of the Christian Princes hath found worke enough; yet his Maiestie wisely considereth, that sometimes smaller Forces being vnited vnder one Command, are more effectually in Prooofe (though not so promising in Opinion and Fame) then much greater Forces, variously compounded by Associations and Leagues; which commonly in a short time after their Beginnings, turne to Dissociations and Diuisions. But (my Lords) that which is as a Voice from Heauen, that called the King to this Enterprise, is a Rent at this time in the House of the OTTOMANS. I doe not say, but there hath beene Brother against Brother in that House before, but neuer any that had Refuge to the Armes of the Christians, as now hath GEMES, (Brother vnto BAI AZETH, that raigneth) the farr brauer Man of the two; the other being betwene a Monke and a Philosopher,

and

and better read in the Alcoran and Auerroes, then able to wield the Scepter of so warlike an Empire. This therefore is the King our Masters memorable and Heroicall Resolution for an Holy VVarre. And because he carrieth in this the Person of a Christian Souldiour, as well as of a Great Temporall Monarch; hee beginneth with Humilitie, and is content for this cause, to begge Peace at the hands of other Christian Kings. There remayneth onely, rather a Ciuill Request, then any essentiall part of our Negotiation, which the King maketh to the King your Soueraigne. The King (as all the World knoweth) is Lord in Chiefe of the Duchie of Britaine. The Marriage of the Heire belongeth to him as Guardian. This is a priuate Patrimoniall Right, and no Businesse of Estate: yet neuerthelesse (to runne a faire course with your King, whom he desires to make another Himselfe, and to be one and the same thing with him) his Request is, That with the Kings Fauour and Consent, he may dispose of her Marriage, as he thinketh good; and make void the intruded and pretended Marriage of MAXIMILIAN, according to Iustice. This (my Lords) is all that I haue to say, desiring your pardon for my weaknesse in the deliuerie.

N

Thus

THUS did the *French Ambassadors* with great shewe of their Kings affection, and many sugred words, seeke to addulce all matters betweene the two Kings, hauing two things for their ends; The one, to keepe the King quiet till the Marriage of *Britaine* was past; and this was but a *Summer fruit*, which they thought was almost ripe, and would be soone gathered. The other was more lasting; and that was to put him into such a temper, as he might be no disturbance or impediment to the voyage for *Italie*. The *Lords* of the *Councell* were silent; and said only, *That they knew the Ambassadors would looke for no answer, till they had reported to the King*; And so they rose from *Councell*. The King could not well tell what to thinke of the Marriage of *Britaine*. He saw plainly the ambition of the *French King* was, to impatronize himselfe of the *Duchie*; but he wondred he would bring into his *House* a litigious Marriage, especially considering who was his Successor. But weighing one thing with another, he gaue *Britaine* for lost; but resolved to make this profit of this businesse of *Britaine*, as a quarrell for Warre; and that of *Naples*, as a *W'rensh* and meane for Peace; being well aduertised, how strongly the King was bent vpon that *Action*. Hauing therefore conterred diuers times with his *Councell*, and keeping himselfe somewhat close; he gaue a direction to the *Chancellor*, for a formall answer to the *Ambassadors*, and that he did in the presence of his *Councell*. And after calling the *Chancellor* to him apart, bad him speake in such language, as was fit for a *Treatie* that was to end in a Breach; and gaue him also a speciall *Caueat*, that he should not vse any words, to discourage the voyage of *Italie*. Soone after the *Ambassadors* were sent for to the *Councell*, and the Lord *Chancellor* spake to them in this sort.

My

MY Lords Ambassadors, I shall make
Manswere by the Kings Commandement,
vnto the eloquent Declaration of you my Lord
Prior, in a brieft and plaine manner. The
King forgetteth not his former loue and ac-
quaintance with the King your Master. But of
this there needeth no Repetition. For if it be
betweene them as it was, it is well; if there be
any alteration, it is not words that will make
it vp.

For the Businesse of Britaine, the King
findeth it a little strange, that the French King
maketh mention of it, as matter of well-deser-
uing at his hand. For that Deseruing was no
more, but to make him his Instrument, to sur-
prize one of his best Contederates. And for
the Marriage, the King would not meddle in it,
if your Master would marry by the Booke, and
not by the Sword.

For that of Flanders, if the Subiects of Bur-
gundie had appealed to your King, as their
Chiefe Lord, at first, by way of Supplication;
it might haue had a shew of Iustice. But it was
a new forme of Processe, for Subiects to impri-
son their Prince first, and to slay his Officers,
and then to be Complainants. The King saith,
That sure he is, when the French King and
himselfe sent to the Subiects of Scotland (that

had taken Armes against their King) they both spake in another Stile, and did in Princely manner signifie their detestation of Popular Attentates upon the Person or Authoritie of Princes. But my Lords Ambassadors, the King leaueth these two Actions thus: That on the one side, he hath not receiued any manner of satisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not apprehend them so deeply, as in respect of them, to refuse to treat of Peace, if other things may goe hand in hand. As for the Warre of Naples, and the Designe against the Turke; the King hath commanded mee expressly to say, That hee doth wish with all his heart, to his good Brother the French King, that his Fortunes may succcede according to his Hopes, and Honourable intentions. And whensoever he shall heare, that he is prepared for Grecia, as your Master is pleased now to say, that he beggeth a Peace of the King, so the King will then begge of him a part in that Warre.

But now my Lords Ambassadors, I am to propound vnto you somewhat on the Kings part. The King your Master hath taught our King what to say and demand. You say (my Lord Prior) that your King is resolved to recouer his right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him.
And

And that if he should not thus doe, he could not acquite his Honour, nor answer it to his People. Thinke (my Lords) that the King our Master saith the same thing ouer againe to you, touching Normandie, Guien, Angeou, yea and the Kingdome of France it selfe. I cannot expresse it better then in your owne words. If therefore the French King shall consent, that the King our Masters Title to France, (at least Tribute for the same) be handled in the Treatie, the King is content to goe on with the rest; otherwise he refuseth to Treat.

THE Ambassadors being somewhat abashed with this demand, answered in some heate; *That they doubted not, but the King their Soueraignes sword would be able to maintaine his Scepter: And they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yeeld to any diminution of the Crowne of France, either in Territory or Regalitie. But howsoeuer, they were too great matters for them to speake of, hauing no Commission. It was replied, that the King looked for no other answer from them; but would forth-with send his owne Ambassadors to the French King. There was a question also asked at the Table; Whether the French King would agree to haue the disposing of the Marriage of Britaine with an exception and exclusion, that he should not marry her himselfe? To which the Ambassadors answered; That it was so farre out of their Kings thoughts, as they had receiued no Instructions touching the same. Thus were the Ambassadors dismissed, all saue the Prior; and were followed immediately by THOMAS Earle of Ormond, and THOMAS GOLDENSTON Prior of Christ-*

Christ-Church in *Canterbury*; who were presently sent ouer into *France*. In the meane space, *LIONELL* Bishop of *Concordia*, was sent as *Nuntio* from *Pope ALEXANDER* the sixth to both Kings, to mooue a Peace betweene them. For *Pope ALEXANDER* finding himselfe pent and lockt vp, by a League and Association of the Principall States of *Italie*, that hee could not make his way for the aduancement of his owne *House*, (which he immoderately thirsted after) was desirous to trouble the waters in *Italie*, that hee might fish the better; casting the Net, not out of Saint *PETERS*, but out of *BORGIA*'s Barke. And doubting least the feares from *England*, might stay the *French Kings* voyage into *Italie*, dispatched this Bishop, to compose all matters betweene the two Kings, if he could. Who first repaired to the *French King*, and finding him well inclined (as he conceiued) tooke on his Iourney towards *England*, and found the *English Ambassadors* at *Calice*, on their way towards the *French King*. After some conference with them, hee was in Honourable manner transported ouer into *England*, where he had audience of the King. But notwithstanding hee had a good *Ominous name* to haue made a Peace, nothing followed. For in the meane time, the purpose of the *French King* to marry the Duchesse could be no longer dissembled. Wherefore the *English Ambassadors* (finding how things went) tooke their leaue, and returned. And the *Prior* also was warned from hence, to depart out of *England*. Who when he turned his backe (more like a *Pedant*, then an *Ambassador*) dispersed a bitter *Libell*, in Latine Verse, against the King, vnto which the King (though hee had nothing of a *Pedant*) yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like Verse; and that as speaking in his owne Person, but in a style of *Scorne* and *Sport*. About this time also was borne the Kings second Son

HENRY,

HENRY, who afterward raigned. And soone after followed the solemnization of the marriage between CHARLES, and ANNE *Duchesse of Britaine*, with whom he receiued the *Duchy of Britaine* as her Dowry; the Daughter of MAXIMILIAN being a little before sent home. Which when it came to the Eares of MAXIMILIAN (who would neuer belieue it, till it was done, being euer the Principall in deceiuing himselfe, though in this the *French King* did very handsomely second it) and tumbling it ouer and ouer in his thoughts, that he should at one blowe (with such a double scorne) be defeated, both of the marriage of his daughter, and his owne, (vpon both which he had fixed high imaginations;) he lost all patience, and casting of the Respects fit to be continued betweene great Kings (euen when their bloud is hottest, and most risen) fell to bitter *Inuectiues* against the Person and Actions of the *French King*. And (by how much he was the lesse able to doe, talking so much the more) spake all the Iniuries he could deuise of CHARLES, saying; That he was the most perfidious man vpon the Earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between an *Advoury* and a *Rape*: which was done (he said) by the iust iudgement of God; to the end, that (the Nullitie thereof being so apparant to all the World) the Race of so vnworthy a person might not raigne in *France*. And forthwith he sent *Ambassadors* as well to the King of *England*, as to the King of *Spaine*, to incite them to Warre, and to treat a *League* offensiue against *France*, promising to concurre with great Forces of his owne. Hereupon the King of *England* (going neuerthelesse his owne way) called a *Parliament*, it being the seuenth yeere of his Raigne; and the first day of opening thereof (sitting vnder his *Cloth of Estate*) spake himselfe vnto his Lords, and Commons in this manner.

My

M*Y Lords, and you the Commons ; When I purposed to make a Warre in Britaine by my Lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my Chancellor. But now that I meane to make a Warre vpon France in Person , I will declare it to you my Selfe. That Warre was to defend another mans Right, but this is to recouer our owne; And that ended by Accident, but we hope this shall end in Victory.*

The French King troubles the Christian World. That which he hath, is not his owne, and yet he seeketh more. He hath inuested himselfe of Britaine. Hee maintaineth the Rebels in Flanders; and he threatneth Italy. For Our Selues, he hath proceeded from Dissimulation, to Neglect; and from Neglect, to Contumely. He hath assayled our Confederates: He denieth our Tribute : In a word, he seekes Warre. So did not his Father, but sought Peace at Our Hands; and so perhaps will hee, when good Counsell or Time, shall make him see as much as his Father did.

*Meane while, let Vs make his Ambition, our Aduantage; and let vs not stand vpon a few Crownes of Tribute, or Acknowledgement, but (by the fauour of Almighty God) try Our Right for the Crowne of France it selfe; remembring that there hath beene A
French*

*French King Prisoner in England, and a King of England Crowned in France. Our Confederates are not diminished. Burgundie is in a mightier Hand then euer, and neuer more prouoked. Britaine cannot helpe vs, but it may hurt them. New Acquests are more Burthen, then Strength. The Male-contents of his owne Kingdome, haue not beene Base, Popular, nor Titularie Impostors, but of an higher Nature. The King of Spaine (doubt yee not) will ioyne with vs, not knowing where the French Kings Ambition will stay. Our Holy Father the Pope, likes no Tramon-
tanes in Italie. But howsoeuer it be, this Matter of Confederates, is rather to bee thought on, then reckoned on. For God forbid, but England should bee able to get Reason of France, without a Second.*

At the Battailes of Cressy, Poictiers, Agent-Court, wee were of our selues. France hath much People, and few Souldiours. They haue no stable Bands of Foot. Some good Horse they haue; but those are Forces, which are least fit for a Defensue Warre, where the Actions are in the Assailants choice. It was our Discords onely, that

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lost

lost France ; and (by the Power of G O D) it is the good Peace which wee now enioy, that will recouer it. G O D hath hitherto blessed my Sword. I haue in this time that I haue Raigned, weeded out my bad Subiects, and tryed my good. My People and I know one another, which breedes Confidence. And if there should be any bad Bloud left in the Kingdome, an Honourable Forraine VVarre will vent it, or purifie it. In this great Businessse, let mee haue your Aduice, and Aide. If any of you were to make his Sonne Knight, you might haue aide of your Tenants by Law. This concernes the Knight-hood and Spurres of the Kingdome, whereof I am Father ; and bound not onely to seeke to maintaine it, but to aduance it. But for Matter of Treasure, let it not bee taken from the Poorest Sort ; but from those, to whom the Benefit of the Warre may redound. France is no Wildernessee : and I, that professe Good Husbandrie, hope to make the Warre (after the Beginnings) to pay it selfe. Goe together in G O D S Name, and loose no time ; for I haue called this Parliament wholly for this Cause.

Thus

THus spake the King; But for all this, though he shewed great forwardnesse for a Warre, not only to his *Parliament* and *Court*, but to his *Prinie-Councell* likewise, (except the two *Bishops* and a few more) yet neuerthelesse in his secret intentions, he had no purpose to goe through with any Warre vpon *France*. But the truth was, that he did but traffique with that Warre, to make his *Returne* in money. He knew well, that *France* was now entire, and at vnitie with it selfe, and neuer so mightie many yeares before. He saw by the cast, that he had of his Forces sent into *Britaine*, that the *French* knew well enough how to make warre with the *English*; by not putting things to the hazard of a *Battaile*, but wearing them by long *Sieges* of *Townes*, and strong fortified *Encampings*. IAMES the Third of *Scotland*, (his true friend, and *Confederate*) gone; and IAMES the Fourth (that had succeeded) wholly at the deuotion of *France*, and ill affected towards him. As for the Coniunctions of FERDINANDO of *Spaine*, and MAXIMILIAN; he could make no foundation vpon them. For the One had *Power*, and not *Will*; and the Other hath *Will*, and not *Power*. Besides that, FERDINANDO had but newly taken breath, from the Warre with the *Moores*; and merchanded at this time with *France*, for the restoring of the Counties of *Russignon* and *Perpignian*, oppignorated to the *French*. Neither was he out of feare of the *Discontents*, and ill bloud within the *Realme*; which hauing vsed alwaies to repressse and appease in person, he was loth they should find him at a distance beyond *Sea*, and engaged in Warre. Finding therefore the Inconueniences and Difficulties in the prosecution of a Warre, he cast with himselfe how to compasse two things. The one, how by the declaration, and inchoation of a Warre, to make his *Profit*. The other, how to come of from the Warre,

with saving of his *Honour*. For *Profit*, it was to be made two wayes; vpon his *Subiects* for the *Warre*, and vpon his *Enemies* for the *Peace*; like a good *Merchant*, that maketh his gaine, both vpon the *Commodities Exported*, and *Imported* backe againe. For the point of *Honour*, wherein he might suffer, for giuing ouer the *Warre*; hee considered well, that as hee could not trust vpon the aides of FERDINANDO and MAXIMILIAN for supports of *Warre*: so the Impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay faire for him for occasions to accept of *Peace*. These things he did wisely fore-see, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lappe, as he desired.

~~But~~ As for the *Parliament*, it presently tooke fire, being affectionate (of old) to the *Warre of France*; and desirous afresh to repaire the dishonour, they thought the King sustained by the losse of *Britaine*. Therefore they aduised the King (with great alacritie) to vndertake the *Warre of France*. And although the *Parliament* consisted of the *First* and *Second Nobilitie* (together with principall *Citizens* and *Townesmen*) yet worthily and iustly respecting more the *People* (whose deputies they were) then their owne priuate Persons, and finding by the Lord *Chancellors* speech the Kings inclination that way; they consented that *Commissioners* should goe forth, for the gathering and leuying of a *Beneuolence*, from the more able sort. This *Taxe* (called a *Beneuolence*) was deuised by EDWARD the Fourth, for which he sustained much Enuie. It was abolished by RICHARD the Third by *Act of Parliament*, to ingratiate himselfe with the people; and it was now reuiued by the King, but with consent of *Parliament*, for so it was not in the time of King EDWARD the Fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great summes. Insomuch

as

as the Citie of *London* (in those dayes) contributed nine thousand pounds and better ; and that chiefly leuied vpon the wealthier sort. There is a Tradition of a *Dilemma*, that Bishop MORTON the *Chancellor* vsed, to raise vp the *Beneuolence* to higher Rates ; and some called it his *Fork*, and some his *Crotch*. For he had touched an *Article* in the Instructions to the *Commissioners*, who were to leuie the *Beneuolence* ; *That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, That they must needs haue, because they laid vp ; and if they were spenders, they must needs haue, because it was seene in their Port, and manner of liuing.* So neither kinde came amisse.

This *Parliament* was meerly a *Parliament* of Warre; for it was in Substance, but a declaration of Warre against *France*, and *Scotland*, with some *Statutes* conducing thereunto ; As the seuer punishing of *Mortpays*, and keeping backe of *Souldiours* wages in *Captaines*. The like seueritie for the departure of *Souldiours* without licence ; Strengthening of the *Common-Law* in fauour of *Protections*, for those that were in the Kings seruice ; And the setting the gate open and wide, for men to sell or *Morgage* their lands without *Fines* for *Alienation*, to furnish themselves with money for the Warre ; And lastly, the voiding of all *Scottishmen* out of *England*. There was also a *Statute*, for the dispersing of the *Standard* of the *Exchequer*, throughout *England* ; thereby to size *Weights* and *Measures* ; and two or three more of lesse importance.

After the *Parliament* was broken vp (which lasted not long) the King went on with his Preparations for the Warre of *France* ; yet neglected not in the meane time the affaires of MAXIMILIAN, for the quieting of *Flanders*, and restoring him to his authoritie amongst his *Subiects*. For at that time, the Lord of *Rauenstein* being not onely a *Subiect* rebelled, but a
Seruant

Servant reuolted (and so much the more malicious and violent, by the aide of *Bruges* and *Gaunt*) had taken the Towne, and both the Castels of *Sluice* ; as we said before.

And hauing (by the commoditie of the *Hauen*) gotten together certaine Ships and Barkes, fell to a kind of *Pyratieall* Trade ; robbing and spoyling, and taking Prisoners the Ships and Vessels of all Nations, that passed alongst that Coast, towards the *Mart* of *Antwerpe*, or into any part of *Brabant*, *Zeland*, or *Freezland* ; being euer well victualled from *Picardie*, besides the commoditie of *Vistuals* from *Sluice*, and the Countrey Adiacent, and the auailles of his owne *Prizes*. The *French* assisted him still vnder-hand ; and hee likewise (as all men doe, that haue beene of both sides) thought himselfe not safe, except hee depended vpon a third *Person*.

There was a small Towne some two miles from *Bruges*, towards the Sea, called *Dam* ; which was a Fort and Approch to *Bruges*, and had a relation also to *Sluice*. This Towne the King of the *Romans* had attempted often, (not for any worth of the Towne in it selfe, but because it might choake *Bruges*, and cut it of from the Sea) and euer fayled. But therewith the *Duke* of *Saxonie* came downe into *Flanders*, taking vp-on him the Person of an *Umpire*, to compose things betweene *MAXIMILIAN* and his Subiects ; but being (indeed) fast and assured to *MAXIMILIAN*. Vpon this Pretext of *Neutralitie* and Treatie, hee repaired to *Bruges* ; desiring of the *States* of *Bruges*, to enter peaceably into their Towne, with a Retinue of some number of men of Armes ; fit for his Estate ; being somewhat the more (as hee said) the better to guard him in a Countrey, that was vp in Armes : and bearing them in hand, that hee was to communicate with them of diuers matters of great importance, for
their

their good. Which hauing obtained of them, he sent his Carriages and *Harbingers* before him, to prouide his Lodging. So that his *Men of Warre* entred the Citie in good Array, but in peaceable manner, and hee followed. They that went before, enquired still for *Innes* and Lodgings, as if they would haue rested there all Night; and so went on, till they came to the Gate, that leadeth directly towards *Dam*; and they of *Bruges* onely gazed vpon them, and gaue them passage. The *Captaines* and Inhabitants of *Dam* also suspected no harme, from any that passed through *Bruges*; and discouering Forces a farre off, supposed they had been some *Succours*, that were come from their Friends, knowing some Dangers towards them. And so perceiuing nothing but well, till it was too late, suffered them to enter their Towne. By which kind of *Sleight*, rather then *Stratageme*, the Towne of *Dam* was taken, and the Towne of *Bruges* shrewdly blockt vp, whereby they tooke great discouragement.

The *Duke* of *Saxonie* hauing wonne the Towne of *Dam*, sent immediately to the King, to let him know, that it was *Sluice* chiefly, and the Lord RAVENSTEIN, that kept the Rebellion of *Flanders* in life: And that if it pleased the King to besiege it by Sea, hee also would besiege it by Land, and so cut out the Core of those Warres.

The King willing to vphold the Authoritie of MAXIMILIAN (the better to hold *France* in awe) and being likewise sued vnto by his *Merchants*, for that the Seas were much infested by the Barkes of the Lord RAVENSTEIN; sent straightwayes Sir EDWARD POYNINGS, a valiant man, and of good seruice, with twelue Ships, well furnished with Souldiours and Artillerie, to cleare the Seas, and to besiege *Sluice* on that part. The *English-men* did not only coupe vp the Lord RAVENSTEIN, that hee stirred

stirred not, and likewise hold in strait Siege the Maritime part of the Towne; but also assailed one of the Castels, and renewed the assault so for twentie dayes space (issuing still out of their Ships at the Ebbe) as they made great slaughter of them of the Castell; who continually fought with them to repulse them, though of the *English* part also were slaine a brother of the *Earle of Oxfords*, and some fiftie more.

But the *Siege* still continuing more and more strait, and both the Castels (which were the principall strength of the Towne) being distressed, the one by the *Duke of Saxonie*, and the other by the *English*; and a Bridge of Boates, which the Lord RAVENSTEIN had made betweene both Castels, whereby Succours and Reliefe might passe from the one to the other, being on a night set on fire by the *English*; hee despayring to hold the Towne, yeilded (at the last) the Castels to the *English*, and the Towne to the *Duke of Saxonie*, by composition. Which done, the *Duke of Saxonie* and Sir EDWARD POYNINGS treated with them of *Bruges*, to submit themselves to MAXIMILIAN their Lord; which after some time they did, paying (in some good part) the charge of the Warre, whereby the *Almaines* and forraine Succours were dismissed. The example of *Bruges*, other of the *Revolted Townes* followed; so that MAXIMILIAN grew to be out of danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) neuer out of necessitie. And Sir EDWARD POYNINGS (after hee had continued at *Sluice* some good while, till all things were settled) returned vnto the King, being then before *Bulloigne*.

Somewhat about this time came Letters from FERDINANDO, and ISABELLA, King and Queene of *Spaine*; signifying the finall conquest of

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Granada from the *Moores*; which Action in it selfe so worthie, King FERDINANDO (whose manner was, neuer to loose any vertue for the shewing) had expressed and displayed in his Letters at large, with all the Particularities, and religious *Punctoes* and Ceremonies, that were obserued in the reception of that *Citie* and *Kingdome*. Shewing amongst other things, That the King would not by any meanes in person enter the *Citie*, vntill he had first aloofe scene the *Crosse* set vp vpon the greater *Tower* of *Granada*, whereby it became *Christian* ground. That likewise before he would enter, he did *Homage* to God aboue, pronouncing by an *Herauld* from the *Height* of that *Tower*, that he did acknowledge to haue recouered that *Kingdome*, by the helpe of GOD Almighty and the glorious *Virgin*, and the vertuous Apostle Saint IAMES, and the holy Father INNOCENT the Eight, together with the aides and seruices of his *Prelates*, *Nobles*, and *Commons*. That yet he stirred not from his *Campe*, till he had scene a little Armie of *Martyres*, to the number of seuen hundred and more *Christians* (that had liued in Bonds and seruitude, as *Slaves* to the *Moores*) passe before his Eyes, singing a *Psalme* for their Redemption; and that he had giuen *Tribute* vnto GOD by Almes, and reliefe, extended to them all, for his admission into the *Citie*. These things were in the Letters, with many more Ceremonies of a kind of *Holy Ostentation*.

The King euer willing to put himselfe into the *Consort* or *Quire* of all religious Actions, and naturally affecting much the King of *Spaine*, (as farre as one King can affect another) partly for his vertues, and partly for a Counterpoise to *France*; vpon the receipt of these Letters, sent all his *Nobles* and *Prelates*, that were about the *Court*, together with the *Maior* and *Aldermen* of *London*, in great solemnitie to the Church

of *Paulus*; there to heare a Declaration from the Lord *Chancellor*, now *Cardinall*. When they were assembled, the *Cardinall* standing vpon the vppermost step, or Halfe-pace before the *Quire*, and all the *Nobles*, *Prelates*, and *Gouernours* of the Citie at the foot of the Staires, made a Speech to them; letting them know, that they were assembled in that Consecrate place, to sing vnto God a *New-song*. For that (said he) these many yeares the *Christians* haue not gayned new ground or Territorie vpon the *Infidels*, nor enlarged and set further the *Bounds* of the *Christian world*. But this is now done, by the prowesse and deuotion of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, Kings of *Spaine*. Who haue (to their immortall Honour) reco-uered the great and rich Kingdome of *Granada*, and the populous and mightie Citie of the same name from the *Moores*, hauing beene in possession thereof, by the space of feuen hundred yeares, and more. For which, this Assembly and all *Christians* are to render laud and thanks vnto God, and to celebrate this noble Act of the King of *Spaine*; who in this is not only *Victorious*, but *Apostolicall*, in the gayning of new Pro- uinces to the *Christian Faith*. And the rather, for that this Victorie and Conquest is obtained, without much effusion of bloud. Whereby it is to be hoped, that there shall be gayned, not only new Territorie, but infinite soules, to the Church of *Christ*; whom the *Almightie* (as it seemes) would haue liue to be con- uerted. Herewithall he did relate some of the most memorable Particulars of the Warre and Victorie. And after his Speech ended, the whole Assemblie went solemnely in *Procession*, and *Te Deum* was sung.

Immediately after the Solemnitie, the King kept his *May Day* at his Pallace of *Sheine*, now *Richmond*. Where to warme the blood of his *Nobilitie*, and *Gal-*
lants,

lants, against the Warre; he kept great Triumphes of *Iusting* and *Tourney*, during all that Moneth. In which space it so fell out, that Sir IAMES PARKER, and HUGH VAUGHAN (one of the Kings Gentlemen-Vshers) hauing had a Controuersie touching certaine *Armes*, that the King at *Armes* had giuen VAUGHAN, were appointed to runne some *Courses* one against an other. And by accident of a faultie Helmet, that PARKER had on, he was stricken into the mouth at the first course, so that his tongue was borne vnto the hinder part of his head, in such sort that hee died presently vpon the Place. Which because of the Controuersie precedent, and the Death that followed, was accounted amongst the *Vulgar*, as a *Combate* or Tryall of Right. The King towards the end of this Summer, hauing put his Forces, wherewith he meant to inuade *France* in readinesse, (but so as they were not yet met or mustered together) sent VRSWICK (now made his *Almoner*) and Sir JOHN RISLEY to MAXIMILIAN; to let him know, that hee was in *Armes*, ready to passe the Seas into *France*, and did but expect to heare from him, when and where he did appoint to ioyne with him, according to his promise made vnto him by COVNT EBALT his *Ambassador*.

The *English Ambassadors* hauing repaired to MAXIMILIAN, did finde his power and promise at a very great distance; he being vtterly vnprouided of *Men*, *Money*, and *Armes*, for any such enterprize. For MAXIMILIAN, hauing neither *Wing* to flie on; for that his Patrimony of *Austria* was not in his hands; (his Father beeing then liuing:) And on the other side, his *Matrimoniall Territories* of *Flanders* were partly in Dowre to his *Mother-in-Law*, and partly not seruiceable, in respect of the late *Rebellions*; was thereby destitute of meanes to enter into Warre. The *Ambas-*

sadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to aduertise the King thereof, rather then to returne themselves, till the Kings further pleasure were knowne. The rather, for that MAXIMILIAN himselfe spake as great, as euer he did before, and entertained them with dilatory Answers; so as the formall part of their *Ambassage*, might well warrant and require their further stay. The King hereupon (who doubted as much before, and saw through his businesse from the beginning) wrote backe to the *Ambassadors*, commending their discretion in not returning, and willing them to keepe the State wherein they found MAXIMILIAN as a secret, till they heard further from him: And meane while went on with his Voyage Royall for *France*, suppressing for a time this Aduertisement touching MAXIMILIANS pouertie and disabilitie.

By this time was drawne together, a great and puissant Armie into the Citie of *London*. In which were THOMAS Marquesse Dorset, THOMAS Earle of Arundell, THOMAS Earle of Derby, GEORGE Earle of Shrewsbury, EDMOND Earle of Suffolke, EDWARD Earle of Deuonshire, GEORGE Earle of Kent, the Earle of Essex, THOMAS Earle of Ormond, with a great number of Barons, Knights, and Principall Gentlemen, and amongst them RICHARD THOMAS, much noted for the braue Troupes, that hee brought out of *Wales*. The Armie rising in the whole to the number of fise and twenty thousand Foot, and sixteene hundred Horse; ouer which the King (constant in his accustomed trust and imployment) made IASPER Duke of Bedford, and JOHN Earle of Oxford, Generalls vnder his owne Person. The ninth of September, in the eighth yeare of his Raigne, he departed from *Greenwich*, towards the Sea; all men wondring, that he tooke that Season (beeing
so

so neare Winter) to begin the Warre; and some there-upon gathering it was a Signe, that the Warre would not be long. Neuerthelesse, the King gaue out the contrarie, thus: *That he intending not to make a Summer businesse of it, but a resolute Warre (without terme prefixed) vntill he had recovered France; it skilled not much when he began it, especially hauing Calice at his backe, where he might winter, if the reason of the Warre so required.* The sixth of October, he imbarqued at Sandwich; and the same day tooke land at Calice, which was the Rendezvous, where all his Forces were assigned to meete. But in this his Iourney towards the Sea side (wherein for the cause that we shall now speake of, he houered so much the longer) he had receiued Letters from the Lord C O R D E S, who the hotter he was against the *English* in time of Warre, had the more credit in a Negociation of Peace; and besides was held a man open, and of good faith. In which Letters there was made an Ouerture of Peace from the *French King*, with such Conditions, as were somewhat to the Kings Taste; but this was carried at the first with wonderfull secrecie. The King was no sooner come to Calice, but the calme windes of Peace began to blow. For first, the *English Ambassadors* returned out of *Flanders* from M A X I M I L I A N, and certified the King, that he was not to hope for any aide from M A X I M I L I A N, for that hee was altogether improuided. His will was good, but he lacked money. And this was made knowne, and spread through the Army. And although the *English* were therewithall nothing dismaied, and that it be the manner of *Souldiours*, vpon bad newes to speake the more brauely: yet neuerthelesse, it was a kind of Preparatiue to a Peace. Instantly in the neck of this (as the King had laid it) came newes, that F E R D I N A N D O and I S A B E L L A, Kings of Spaine, had conclud a Peace with King C H A R L E S; and

and that CHARLES had restored vnto them the Counties of *Russignon* and *Perpignian*, which formerly were *Morgaged* by I O H N King of *Arragon*, (FERDINAND OES Father) vnto *France*, for three hundred thousand Crownes; which debt was also vpon this Peace, by CHARLES clearly released. This came also handsomely to put on the Peace: both because so Potent a *Confederate* was fallen of, and because it was a faire example of a Peace bought; so as the King should not bee the sole Merchant in this Peace. Vpon these *Aires of Peace*, the King was content, that the Bishop of *Excester*, and the Lord D A V B I G N E Y (Gouernour of *Calice*) should giue a meeting vnto the Lord C O R D E S, for the *Treatie* of a Peace. But himselfe neuerthelesse, and his Armie, the fifteenth of *October*, rempoued from *Calice*, and in foure dayes march sate him downe before *Bulloigne*.

During this Siege of *Bulloigne* (which continued neare a Moneth) there passed no memorable Action, nor Accident of Warre; onely Sir I O H N S A V A G E, a valiant Captaine, was slaine, riding about the Walls of the Towne, to take a View. The Towne was both well fortified, and well manned; yet it was distressed, and readie for an Assault. Which if it had beene giuen (as was thought) would haue cost much Bloud; but yet the Towne would haue beene carried in the end. Meane while a Peace was concluded by the *Commissioners*, to continue for both the Kings Liues. Where there was no Article of importance; being in effect, rather a *Bargaine*, then a *Treatie*. For all things remayned as they were, saue that there should bee payd to the King seuen hundred fortie five thousand Duckats in present, for his Charges in that Iourney; and five and twentie thousand Crownes yearely, for his Charges sustained in

in the Aides of the Britons. For which *Annually*, though he had MAXIMILIAN bound before for those Charges; yet hee counted the alteration of the Hand, as much as the principall Debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely, when it should determine or expire; which made the *English* esteeme it as a *Tribute*, carried vnder faire Termes. And the truth is, it was payd both to the King, and to his Sonne King HENRY the Eight, longer then it could continue vpon any Computation of Charges. There was also assigned by the *French King*, vnto all the Kings principall Councillors, great *Pensions*, besides rich Gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit, to saue his owne Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the Enuie of a Businesse; that was displeasing to his People, was diuersly interpreted. For certainly, the King had no great fancie to owne this *Peace*. And therefore a little before it was concluded, he had vnder-hand procured some of his best *Captaines*, and *Men of Warre*, to aduise him to a *Peace* vnder their Hands, in an earnest manner, in the nature of a *Supplication*. But the truth is, this *Peace* was welcome to both Kings. To CHARLES, for that it assured vnto him the possession of *Britaine*, and freed the enterprise of *Naples*. To HENRY, for that it filled his Coffers; and that hee foresaw at that time a storme of inward troubles comming vpon him, which presently after brake forth. But it gaue no lesse discontent to the *Nobilitie*, and principall persons of of the *Armie*; who had many of them sold or engaged their Estates, vpon the hopes of the Warre. They stucke not to say, *That the King cared not to plume his Nobilitie and People, to feather himselfe*. And some made themselues merrie with that the King had said in Parliament: *That after the Warre was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay it selfe*; saying, hee had kept promise.

Hauing

Hauing risen from *Bulloigne*, he went to *Calice*, where hee staid some time. From whence also hee wrote Letters, (which was a Curtesie that he sometimes vsed) to the *Maior* of *London*, and the *Aldermen* his brethren; halfe bragging, what great summes hee had obtayned for the *Peace*; knowing well that full *Coffers* of the *King*, is euer good *Newes* to *London*. And better *Newes* it would haue beene, if their *Beneuolence* had beene but a *Loane*. And vpon the seuen-teenth of *December* following, hee returned to *Westminster*, where hee kept his *Christmasse*.

Soone after the *Kings* returne, hee sent the *Order* of the *Garter*, to *ALPHONSO* *Duke* of *Calabria*, eldest sonne to *Ferdinando* *King* of *Naples*. An honour sought by that *Prince*, to hold him vp in the eyes of the *Italians*. Who expecting the *Armes* of *CHARLES*, made great accompt of the *Amitie* of *England*, for a *Bridle* to *France*. It was receiued by *ALPHONSO*, with all the *Ceremonie* and *Pompe* that could be deuised; as things vse to be carried, that are intended for *Opinion*. It was sent by *Vrs-wick*; vpon whom the *King* bestowed this *Ambassage*, to helpe him, after many drie *Employments*.

AT this time the *King* began againe to be haunted with *Sprites*, by the *Magicke* and curious Arts of the *Lady* *MARGARET*: Who raysed vp the *Ghost* of *RICHARD*, *Duke* of *Yorke*, second Sonne to *King* *EDWARD* the Fourth, to walke and vex the *King*. This was a finer *Counterfeit Stone*, then *LAMBERT* *SIMNELL*; better done, and worne vpon greater hands; beeing graced after, with the wearing of a *King* of *France*, and a *King* of *Scotland*, not of a *Duchesse* of *Burgundie* onely. And for *SIMNELL*, there was not much in him, more then that hee

hee was a handsome *Boy*, and did not shame his *Robes*. But this *Youth* (of whom wee are now to speake) was such a *Mercuriall*, as the like hath seldom beene knowne; and could make his owne part, if at any time hee chanced to bee out. Wherefore, this being one of the strangest Examples of a *Personation*, that euer was in *Elder* or *Later* Times; it deserueth to bee discouered, and related at the full. Although the Kings manner of shewing things by *Pieces* and by *Darke Lights*, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a *Mysterie* to this day.

The *Lady MARGARET* (whom the Kings Friends called *IVNO*, because shee was to him as *IVNO* was to *ÆNEAS*, stirring both *Heauen* and *Hell*, to doe him mischief) for a foundation of her particular Practices against him, did continually, by all meanes possible, nourish, maintaine, and divulge the flying Opinion, That *RICHARD, Duke of Yorke* (second Sonne to *EDWARD* the Fourth) was not murdered in the *Tower* (as was giuen out) but sau'd aliue. For that those that were imployed in that barbarous Fact, hauing destroyed the elder Brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him priuily at libertie, to seeke his Fortune. This *Lure* shee cast abroad, thinking that this Fame and Beliefe (together with the fresh Example of *LAMBERT SIMNELL*) would draw at one time, or other, some *Birds* to strike vpon it. Shee vsed likewise a further *Diligence*, not committing all to *Chance*. For shee had some secret *Espials* (like to the *Turkes Commissioners* for Children of *Tribute*) to looke abroad for handsome and gracefull Youths, to make *PLANTAGENETS*, and *Dukes of Yorke*. At the last shee did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wish, to serue her turne, for a *Counterfeit* of *RICHARD, Duke of Yorke*.

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This

This was PERKIN WARBECK, whose Aduentures wee shall now describe. For first, the yeares agreed well. Secondly, he was a *Youth* of fine fauour, and shape. But more then that, he had such a craftie and bewitching fashion, both to mooue *Pitie*, and to induce *Beliefe*, as was like a kind of *Fascination*, and *Inchantment*, to those that saw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had beene from his Child-hood such a *Wanderer*, or (as the King called him) such a *Land-loper*, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his *Nest*, and *Parents*. Neither againe could any man, by companie or conuersing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a *Circumstance* (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same Time) that is very likely to haue made somewhat to the matter; which is, That King EDWARD the Fourth was his *God-father*. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious, for a wanton *Prince* to become Gossip in so meane a House, and might make a man thinke, that he might indeed haue in him some base Bloud of the House of YORKE; so at the least (though that were not) it might giue the occasion to the Boy, in being called King EDWARDS *God-sonne*, or perhaps in sport, King EDWARDS *Sonne*, to entertayne such Thoughts into his Head. For *Tutor* he had none (for ought that appeares) as LAMBERT SIMNELL had, vntill he came vnto the Lady MARGARET, who instructed him.

Thus therefore it came to passe: There was a Townes-man of *Tourney*, that had borne office in that Towne, whose name was JOHN OSBECKE, a *Convert-lew*, married to KATHERINE DE FARO, whose businesse drew him, to liue for a time with his wife at London, in King EDWARD the fourths daies. During which time he had a sonne by her, and being knowne in Court, the King either out of a religious Noble-

Noblencesse, because he was a *Conuert*, or vpon some priuate acquaintance, did him the Honour, as to bee *Godfather* to his Child, and named him PETER. But afterwards, proouing a dainty and effeminate *Youth*, hee was commonly called by the *Diminitive* of his name, PETER-KIN, or PERKIN. For as for the name of WARBECKE, it was giuen him when they did but guesse at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stucke by him after his true name of OSBECKE was knowne. While hee was a young child, his Parents returned with him to *Tourney*. Then was he placed in a house of a kinsman of his, called JOHN STENBECK, at *Antwerpe*, and so roued vp and down betweene *Antwerpe* and *Tourney*, and other Townes of *Flanders* for a good time; liuing much in *English Company*, and hauing the *English Tongue* perfect. In which time, beeing growne a comely *Youth*, hee was brought by some of the espialls of the Ladie MARGARET vnto her Presence. Who viewing him well, and seeing that hee had a Face and Personage, that would beare a noble fortune: And finding him otherwise of a fine spirit, and winning behauiour; thought she had now found a curious *Piece of Marble*, to carue out an *Image* of a *Duke of Yorke*. Shee kept him by her a great while, but with extreame secrecy. The while she instructed him, by many *Cabinet-Conferences*. First, in *Princely* behauiour and gesture; teaching him how he should keepe *State*, and yet with a modest sence of his misfortunes. Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars, that concerned the Person of RICHARD Duke of *Yorke*, which he was to act: Describing vnto him the *Personages*, *Lineaments*, and *Features* of the King and Queen his pretended Parents; and of his Brother, and Sisters, and diuers others, that were neereft him in his Childhood;

hood; together with all passages, some secret, some common, that were fit for a Childs memorie, vntill the death of King EDWARD. Then she added the particulars of the time, from the Kings death, vntill he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in *Sanctuarie*. As for the times while hee was in the *Tower*, and the manner of his Brothers death, and his owne escape; shee knew they were things that a verie few could controll. And therefore shee taught him, onely to tell a smooth and likely *Tale* of those matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise betweene them, what account he should giue of his *Peregrination* abroad, intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testifie, for the credit of the rest: but still making them to hang together, with the *Part* he was to play. Shee taught him likewise how to auoide sundry captious and tempting questions, which were like to be asked of him. But in this shee found him of himselfe so nimble and shifing, as she trusted much to his owne wit and readines; and therefore laboured the lesse in it. Lastly, shee raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and further promiles; setting before him chiefly the glorie, and fortune of a Crowne, if things went well, and a sure refuge to her *Court*, if the worst should fall. After such time, as she thought hee was perfect in his *Lesson*, shee began to cast with her selfe from what coast this *Blazing-starre* should first appeare, and at what time it must be vpon the *Horizon* of *Ireland*; for there had the like *Meteor* strong influence before. The time of the *Apparition* to bee, when the King should be engaged into a Warre with *France*. But well shee knew, that whatsoever should come from her, would be held suspected. And therefore, if hee should goe out of *Flanders* immediately into *Ireland*,

land, shee might be thought to haue some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe : for that the two Kings were then vpon termes of *Peace*. Therefore shee wheel'd about; and to put all suspicion a far of, and loath to keepe him any longer by her, (for that shee knew *Secrets* are not long liued) shee sent him vnknowne into *Portugall*, with the Lady BRAMPTON, an *English Ladie*, that imbarqued for *Portugall* at that time ; with some *Privado* of her owne, to haue an eye vpon him, and there he was to remaine, and to expect her further directions. In the meane time, she omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome, and accepting, not onely in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, but in the *Court of France*. He continued in *Portugall* about a yeare; and by that time the King of *England* called his *Parliament* (as hath beene said) and had declared open Warre against *France*. Now did the *Signe* raigne, and the *Constellation* was come, vnder which PERKIN should appeare. And therefore, he was straight sent vnto by the *Duchesse*, to goe for *Ireland*, according to the first designement. In *Ireland* he did arriue at the Towne of *Corke*. When he was thither come, his owne *Tale* was (when he made his *Confession* afterwards) That the *Irish-men* finding him in some good Clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him downe, that he was the *Duke of Clarence*, that had beene there before. And after, that he was RICHARD the Thirds base sonne. And lastly, that he was RICHARD *Duke of Yorke*, second sonne to EDWARD the Fourth. But that he (for his part) renounced all these things, and offered to sweare vpon the holy *Euangelists*, that he was no such man; till at last, they forced it vpon him, and bad him feare nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediatly vpon his comming into *Ireland*, hee tooke vpon him the said *Person* of the
Duke

Duke of Yorke, and drew vnto him *Complices*, and *Partakers*, by all the meanes he could deuise. In so much as hee wrote his Letters vnto the *Earles of Desmond* and *Kildare*, to come in to his *Aide*, and be of his *Partie*; the *Originals* of which Letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the *Duchesse* had also gayned vnto her, a neare seruant of King *HENRY*'s owne, one *STEPHEN FRION*, his *Secretarie* for the *French Tongue*; an actiue man, but turbulent, and discontented. This *FRION* had fled ouer to *CHARLES* the *French King*, and put himselfe into his seruice, at such time as hee began to be in open enmitie with the King. Now King *CHARLES*, when he vnderstood of the Person and Attempts of *PERKIN*, (readie of himselfe to embrace all aduantages against the King of *England*; instigated by *FRION*, and formerly prepared by the *Ladie MARGARET*) forthwith dispatched one *LYCAS*, and this *FRION*, in the nature of *Ambassadours* to *PERKIN*; to aduertise him of the Kings good inclination to him, and that hee was resolu'd to aide him, to recouer his right against King *HENRY*, an *Usurper* of *England*, and an *Enemy* of *France*; and wished him, to come ouer vnto him at *Paris*. *PERKIN* thought himselfe in heauen, now that hee was inuited by so great a King, in so honourable a manner. And imparting vnto his Friends in *Ireland* for their incouragement, how *Fortune* called him, and what great hopes hee had, sayled presently into *France*. When hee was come to the *Court* of *France*, the King receiued him with great honour; saluted, and Stiled him by the name of the *Duke of Yorke*; lodged him, and accommodated him in great *State*. And the better to giue him the representation and the countenance of a *Prince*, assigned him a *Gnard* for his Person, whereof the Lord *CONGRESALL* was Captaine. The *Courtiers*

tiers likewise (though it bee ill mocking with the *French*) applied themselues to their Kings Bent, seeing there was reason of *State* for it. At the same time there repaired vnto PERKIN diuers *Englishmen* of Qualitie; Sir GEORGE NEVILLE, Sir IOHN TAYLOR, and about one hundred more: and amongst the rest, this STEPHEN FRION, of whom wee spake, who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principall Counsellor, and Instrument in all his Proceedings. But all this on the *French Kings* part, was but a Tricke, the better to bow King HENRY to Peace. And therefore, vpon the first Graine of *Incense*, that was sacrificed vpon the Altar of Peace at *Bulloigne*, PERKIN was smoaked away. Yet would not the *French King* deliuer him vp to King HENRY (as hee was laboured to doe) for his Honors sake, but warned him away, and dismissed him. And PERKIN on his part was as readie to bee gone, doubting hee might bee caught vp vnder-hand. Hee therefore tooke his way into *Flanders*, vnto the Duchesse of *Burgundie*; pretending, that hauing beene variously tossed by *Fortune*, hee directed his course thither, as to a safe Harbour: No wayes taking knowledge, that hee had cuer beene there before, but as if that had beene his first addresse. The Duchesse on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him: pretending (at the first) that shee was taught and made wise by the example of LAMBERT SIMNELL, how shee did admit of any Counterfeit *Stuffe*; though euen in that (shee said) shee was not fully satisfied. Shee pretended at the first (and that was cuer in the presence of others) to pose him and sift him, thereby to trie whether hee were indeed the very Duke of *yorke*, or no. But seeming to receiue full satisfaction by his answeres, shee then fained her selfe to bee transported with a kind of astonishment,

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mixt of *Ioy* and *Wonder*, at his miraculous deliuerance; receiuing him, as if hee were risen from *Death* to *Life*: and inferring, that *GOD*, who had in such wonderfull manner preserued him from *Death*, did likewise reserue him for some great and prosperous *Fortune*. As for his dismissal out of *France*, they interpreted it not, as if hee were detected or neglected for a *Counterfeit Deceiuer*; but contrariwise, that it did shew manifestly vnto the *World*, that hee was some *Great matter*; for that it was his abandoning, that (in effect) made the *Peace*: becing no more but the sacrificing of a poore distressed *Prince*, vnto the *Vilitie* and *Ambition* of two *Mightie Monarches*. Neither was *PERKIN* for his part wanting to himselfe, either in gracious and princely behauiour, or in readie and apposite answeres, or in contenting and caressing those that did applie themselues vnto him, or in prettie scorne and disdaine to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquite himselfe. In so much as it was generally believed (as well amongst great *Persons*, as amongst the *Vulgar*) that hee was indeed *Duke RICHARD*. Nay himselfe, with long and continuall counterfeiting, and with oft telling a *Lye*, was turned by habite almost into the thing hee seemed to be, and from a *Liar*, to a *Belieuer*. The *Duchesse* therefore (as in a case out of doubt) did him all princely honour, calling him alwaies by the name of her *Nephew*, and giuing him the *Delicate Title* of the *White-rose of England*; and appointed him a *Guard* of thirtie *Persons*, *Halberdiers*, clad in a *Party-coloured Linerie* of *Murrey* and *Blew*, to attend his *Person*. Her *Court* likewise, and generally the *Dutch* and *Strangers* in their vsage towards him, expressed no lesse respect.

The *Newes* hereof came blazing and thundering ouer into *England*, that the *Duke of Yorke* was sure aliue.

aliue. As for the name of PERKIN WARBECK, it was not at that time come to light, but all the newes ranne vpon the *Duke of Yorke*; that hee had beene entertained in *Ireland*, bought and sold in *France*, and was now plainly auowed, and in great honour in *Flanders*. These *Fames* tooke hold of diuers; In some vpon discontent, in some vpon ambition, in some vpon leuitie and desire of change, and in some few vpon conscience and beliefe, but in most vpon simplicitie; and in diuers out of dependance vpon some of the better sort, who did in secret fauour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long, ere these rumours of *Noveltie*, had begotten others of *Scandall* and *Murmur* against the King, and his gouernement; taxing him for a great *Taxer* of his *People*, and *Discountenancer* of his *Nobilitie*. The losse of *Britaine*, and the *Peace* with *France* were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell vpon the wrong that hee did his *Queene*, in that hee did not raigne in her *Right*. Wherefore they said, that G O D had now brought to light a *Masculine-Branch* of the House of Y O R K E, that would not bee at his *Curtesie*, howsoeuer hee did depresse his poore *Ladie*. And yet (as it fareth in things which are currant with the *Multitude*, and which they affect) these *Fames* grew so generall, as the *Authours* were lost in the generalitie of *Speakers*. They beeing like running *Weeds*, that haue no certaine roote; or like *Footings* vp and downe, impossible to bee traced. But after a while, these ill *Humours* drew to an head, and setled secretly in some eminent *Persons*; which were Sir WILLIAM STANLEY Lord *Chamberlaine* of the Kings *Houehold*, The Lord FITZ-WATER, Sir SIMON MOVNTFORT, Sir THOMAS THWAITES. These entred into a secret *Conspiracie* to fauour *Duke RICHARDS* Title. Neuerthelesse none engaged their fortunes in this businesse openly, but two; Sir

ROBERT CLIFFORD, and Master WILLIAM BARLEY, who sailed ouer into *Flanders*, sent indeed from the *Partie* of the Conspiratours here, to vnderstand the truth of those things, that passed there, and not without some helpe of monies from hence; *Provisionally* to bee deliuered, if hee found and were satisfied, that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD (being a Gentleman of *Fame* and *Familie*) was extremely welcome to the *Ladie* MARGARET. Who after shee had conference with him, brought him to the sight of PERKIN, with whom hee had often speach and discourse. So that in the end wonne either by the *Duchesse* to affect, or by PERKIN to belieue, hee wrote backe into *England*, that hee knew the Person of RICHARD Duke of *Yorke*, as well as hee knew his owne; and that this *young-man* was vndoubtedly hee. By this meanes all things grew prepared to Reuolt and Sedition here, and the *Conspiracie* came to haue a *Correspondence* betweene *Flanders* and *England*.

The King on his part was not asleepe; but to Arme or leuie *Forces* yet, he thought would but shew feare, and doe this *Idoll* too much worship. Neuertherlesse the *Ports* he did shut vp, or at least kept a *Watch* on them, that none should passe to or fro that was suspected. But for the rest, hee chose to worke by *Counter-mine*. His purposes were two; the one, to lay open the Abuse: The other, to breake the knot of the *Conspirators*. To detect the *Abuse*, there were but two wayes; The first, to make it manifest to the world, that the Duke of *Yorke* was indeed murdered: The other, to prooue, that were he dead or aliue, yet PERKIN was a *Counterfeit*. For the first, thus it stood. There were but foure *Persons* that could speake vpon knowledge, to the murder of the Duke of *Yorke*: Sir JAMES TIRREL (the employed-man from King RICHARD)

CHARD) I O H N D I G H T O N, and M I L E S F O R R E S T, his seruants (the two Butchers or Tormentors) and the *Priest* of the *Tower*, that buried them. Of which foure, M I L E S F O R E S T, and the *Priest* were dead, and there remained aliue only Sir I A M E S T I R R E L, and I O H N D I G H T O N. These two the King caused to be committed to the *Tower*, and examined touching the manner of the death of the two innocent *Princes*. They agreed both in a *Tale*, (as the King gaue out) to this effect: That King R I C H A R D hauing directed his warrant for the putting of them to death, to B R A C K E N B V R I E the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, was by him refused. Whereupon the King directed his Warrant to Sir I A M E S T I R R E L, to receiue the *Keies* of the *Tower* from the *Lieutenant* (for the space of a night) for the Kings speciall seruice. That Sir I A M E S T I R R E L accordingly repaired to the *Tower* by night, attended by his two *Seruants* afore-named, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himselfe stood at the staire-foot, and sent these two *Villaines* to execute the murther. That they smothered them in their bed; & that done, called vp their Master to see their naked dead bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried vnder the *Staires*, and some stones cast vpon them. That when the report was made to King R I C H A R D, that his will was done, hee gaue Sir I A M E S T I R R E L great thanks; but tooke exception to the place of their buriall, bee- ing too base for them that were *Kings* children. Where- upon an other night by the Kings warrant renewed, their bodies were remooued by the *Priest* of the *Tow- er*, and buried by him in some place, which (by means of the *Priests* death soone after) could not be knowne. Thus much was then deliuered abroad, to be the effect of those *Examinations*. But the King neuerthelesse made no vse of them in any of his *Declarations*; whereby (as

it seemes) those *Examinations* left the businesse somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir IAMES TIRREL, he was soone after beheaded in the *Tower-yard*, for other matters of *Treason*. But IOHN DIGHTON (who it seemeth spake best for the King) was forthwith set at libertie, and was the Principall meanes of divulging this *Tradition*. Therefore this kind of Proofoe being left so naked, the King vsed the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of PERKIN. To this purpose, he sent abroad into seuerall parts, and especially into *Flanders*, diuers secret and nimble *Scoutes* and *Spies*; some faining themselues to flie ouer vnto PERKIN, and to adhere vnto him; and some vnder other pretences, to learne, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of PERKINS Parents, Birth, Person, Trauailes vp and downe; and in brieve, to haue a *Iournall* (as it were) of his life and doings. Hee furnished these his employed-men liberally with Money, to draw on and reward Intelligences: giuing them also in charge, to aduertise continually what they found, and neuerthelesse still to goe on. And euer as one Aduertisement and Discouerie called vp another, hee employed other new Men, where the Businesse did require it. Others hee employed in a more speciall nature and trust, to be his *Pioners* in the maine *Counter-mine*. These were directed to insinuate themselues into the familiaritie and confidence of the principall *Persons* of the *Partie* in *Flanders*, and so to learne what *Associates* they had, and *Correspondents*, cyther here in *England*, or abroad; and how farre euery one ingaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to trie, or board. And as this for the *Persons*; so for the *Actions* themselues, to discover to the Bottome (as they could) the vtmost of PERKINS and the *Conspiratours* their Intentions, Hopes, and Practices. These latter *Best-be-trust-Spies* had

had some of them further instructions, to practise and draw of the best Friends and Seruants of PERKIN, by making remonstrance to them, how weakly his Enterprize and Hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deale; and to reconcile them to the King, with promise of *Pardon*, and good Conditions of *Reward*. And (aboue the rest) to assaile, sappe, and worke into the constancie of Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD; and to winne him (if they could) being the man that knew most of their Secrets, and who being wonne away, would most appall and discourage the rest, and in a manner breake the Knot.

There is a strange *Tradition*; That the King being lost in a *Wood* of Suspitions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the *Confessors* and *Chaplaines* of diuers great men; and for the better *Credit* of his *Esspials* abroad with the contrarie side, did vse to haue them cursed at PAVLS (by Name) amongst the *Bead-roll* of the Kings Enemies, according to the Custome of those Times. These *Esspials* plyed their Charge so roundly, as the King had an *Anatomie* of PERKIN aliue; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent *Conspirators* in *England*, and many other Mysteries were reuealed; and Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD in especiall wonne to be assured to the King, and industrious and officious for his seruice. The King therefore (receiuing a rich *Returne* of his diligence, and great satisfaction touching a number of Particulars) first diuulged and spred abroad the *Imposture* and Iuggling of PERKINS Person and Trauailes, with the Circumstances thereof, throughout the *Realme*. Not by *Proclamation* (because things were yet in Examination, and so might receiue the more or the lesse) but by *Court-Fames*, which commonly print better then printed *Proclamations*. Then thought hee it also time to send an *Ambassage* vnto
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Archduke PHILIP, into Flanders, for the abandoning and dismissing of PERKIN. Herein hee employed Sir EDWARD POYNINGS, and Sir WILLIAM WARHAM, Doctor of the Canon Law. The Archduke was then young, and gouerned by his Councell: before whom the Ambassadors had audience; and Doctor WARHAM spake in this manner,

M*Y Lords, the King our Master is very sorry, that England and your Countrey here of Flanders hauing beene counted as Man and Wife for so long time, now this Countrey of all others should be the Stage, where a base Counterfeit should play the part of a King of England; not onely to his Graces disquiet and dishonour, but to the scorne and reproach of all Soueraigne Princes. To counterfeit the dead Image of a King in his Coyne, is an high Offence by all Lawes. But to counterfeit the liuing Image of a King in his Person, exceedeth all Falsifications, except it should bee that of a MAHOMET, or an Anti-Christ, that counterfeit Diuine Honour. The King hath too great an Opinion of this sage Counsell, to thinke that any of you is caught with this Fable (though way may be giuen by you to the passion of some) the thing in it selfe is so improbable. To set Testimonies aside of the Death of Duke RICHARD, which the King hath vpon Record,*
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plaine and infallible (because they may bee thought to bee in the Kings owne Power) let the thing testifie for it selfe. Sense and Reason no Power can command. If it possible (trowe you) that King RICHARD should damne his Soule, and foule his Name with so abominable a Murther, and yet not mend his Case? Or doe you thinke, that Men of Bloud (that were his Instruments) did turne to Pitty in the midst of their Execution? Whereas in cruell and sauage Beasts, and Men also, the first Draught of Bloud doth yet make them more fierce, and enraged. Doe you not know, that the Bloudie Executioners of Tyrants doe goe to such Errands, with an Halter about their necke: So that if they performe not, they are sure to die for it? And doe you thinke, that these men would hazard their owne liues, for sparing anothers? Admit they should haue saued him: What should they haue done with him? Turne him into London Streets, that the Watch-men or any Passenger that should light vpon him, might carry him before a Iustice, and so all come to light? Or should they haue kept him by them secretly? That surely would haue required a great deale of Care, Charge, and continuall Feares. But (my Lords) I labour too much in a cleare Busi.

Businesse. The King is so wise, and hath so good Friends abroad, as now hee knoweth Duke PERKIN from his Cradle. And because hee is a great Prince, if you haue any good Poet here, hee can helpe him with Notes to write his Life; and to parallell him with LAMBERT SIMNELL, now the Kings Faulconer. And therefore (to speake plainely to your Lordships) it is the strangest thing in the World, that the Lady MARGARET (excuse vs, if wee name her, whose Malice to the King is both causelesse and endlesse) should now when shee is old, at the time when other Women giue ouer Child-bearing, bring forth two such Monsters; being not the Births of nine or tenne Moneths, but of many yeares. And whereas other naturall Mothers bring forth Children weake, and not able to helpe themselues; shee bringeth forth tall Striplinges, able soone after their comming into the World, to bid Battaille to mightie Kings. My Lords, wee stay vnwillingly vpon this Part. Wee would to GOD, that Lady would once taste the Foyes, which GOD Almighty doth serue vp vnto her, in beholding her Neece to Raigne in such Honour, and with so much Royall Issue, which shee might bee pleased

to accompt as her owne. The Kings Request vnto the Archduke, and your Lordships, might bee; That according to the Example of King CHARLES, who hath alreadie discarded him, you would banish this unworthie Fellow out of your Dominions. But because the King may iustly expect more from an ancient Confederate, then from a new reconciled Enemy; hee maketh his Request vnto you, to deliuer him vp into his hands. Pyrates, and Impostures of this sort, beeing fit to bee accounted the Common Enemies of Mankind, and no wayes to bee protected by the Law of Nations.

After some time of Deliberation, the Ambassadors receiued this short Answer.

That the Archduke, for the loue of King HENRY, would in no sort aide or assist the pretended Duke, but in all things conserue the Amitie hee had with the King. But for the Duchesse Dowager, shee was absolute in the Lands of her Dowrie, and that hee could not let her to dispose of her owne.

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THE King, vpon the returne of the *Ambassadours*, was nothing satisfied with this Answer. For well he knew, that a *Patrimoniall Dowrie* carried no part of *Soueraignie*, or Command of *Forces*. Besides, the *Ambassadours* told him plainely, that they saw the *Duchesse* had a great *Partie* in the *Arch-Dukes* Counsell; and that howsoever it was carried in a course of conuience, yet the *Arch-Duke* vnder hand gaue aide and furtherance to *PERKIN*. Wherefore (partly out of *Courage*, and partly out of *Policie*) the King forthwith banished all *Flemmings* (as well their *Persons*, as their *Wares*) out of his *Kingdome*; Commanding his Subiects likewise (and by name his *Merchants-Aduenturers*) which had a Resiance in *Antwerpe*, to returne; translating the *Mart* (which commonly followed the *English* Cloth) vnto *Calice*, and imbarred also all further trade for the future. This the King did, being sensible in point of Honour, not to suffer a *Pretender* to the Crowne of *England*, to affront him so neare at hand, and hee to keepe termes of friendship with the *Countrie* where hee did set vp. But hee had also also a further reach: for that hee knew well, that the Subiects of *Flanders* drew so great commoditie from the trade of *England*, as by this *Embargo* they would soone waxe wearie of *PERKIN*, and that the Tumults of *Flanders* had beene so late and fresh, as it was no time for the *Prince* to displease the *People*. Neuerthelesse for formes sake, by way of requitall, the *Arch-Duke* did likewise banish the *English* out of *Flanders*; which in effect was done to his hand.

The King being well aduertised, that *PERKIN* did more trust vpon Friends and Partakers within the Realme, then vpon forraine Armes, thought it behooued him to applie the *Remedie*, where the *Disease* lay; and to proceed with seueritie against some of the

the principall *Conspirators* here within the Realme ; Thereby to purge the ill Humours in *England*, and to coole the Hopes in *Flanders*. Wherefore hee caused to bee apprehended (almost at an instant) I O H N R A T C L I F F E Lord *Fitz-water*, Sir S I M O N M O V N T F O R T, Sir T H O M A S T H W A I T E S, W I L L I A M D A W B I G N E Y, R O B E R T R A T C L I F F E, T H O M A S C H R E S S E N O R, and T H O M A S A S T W O O D. All these were arraigned, conuicted and condemned for *High-Treason*, in adhering, and promising aide to P E R K I N. Of these, the Lord F I T Z - W A T E R was conueighed to *Calice*, and there kept in hold, and in hope of life, vntill soone after (either impatient, or betrayed) hee dealt with his Keeper to haue escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir S I M O N M O V N T F O R T, R O B E R T R A T C L I F F E, and W I L L I A M D A W B I G N E Y were beheaded immediatly after their Condemnation. The rest were pardoned; together with many others *Clerkes* and *Laikes*, amongst which were two *Dominican Friars*, and W I L L I A M W O R S E L E Y, *Deane* of *Paules*: which latter sort passed Examination, but came not to publicke triall.

The *Lord Chamberlaine* at that time was not touched; whether it were, that the King would not stirre too many humours at once, but (after the manner of good *Physicians*) purge the head last; Or that C L I F F O R D (from whom most of these *Discoueries* came) reserued that Piece for his owne comming ouer: signifying onely to the King in the meane time, that hee doubted there were some greater ones in the businesse, whereof hee would giue the King further accompt when hee came to his presence.

Vpon *Al-hallowes-day-euen* beeing now the tenth yeare of the Kings Raigne, the Kings second sonne

HENRY was created *Duke of Yorke*; and as well the *Duke*, as diuers others, *Noblemen*, *Knights-Batchlours*, and *Gentlemen* of Qualitie were made *Knights of the Bath*, according to the *Ceremonie*. Vpon the morrow after *Twelfth-Day*, the King remoued from *Westminster* (where hee had kept his *Christmas*) to the *Tower of London*. This hee did as soone as hee had aduertisement, that Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD (in whose *Bosome* or *Budget* most of PERKINS secrets were layed vp) was come into *England*. And the place of the *Tower* was chosen to that end, that if CLIFFORD should accuse any of the *Great-ones*, they might without suspicion, or noise, or sending abroad of Warrants, bee presently attached; The *Court* and *Prison* beeing within the cincture of one Wall. After a day or two, the King drew vnto him a selected *Councell*, and admitted CLIFFORD to his presence; who first fell downe at his feet, and in all humble manner craued the *Kings Pardon*, which the King then granted, though he were indeed secretly assured of his life before. Then commanded to tell his knowledge, hee did amongst many others (of himselfe, not interrogated) appeach Sir WILLIAM STANLEY, the *Lord Chamberlaine* of the *Kings Household*.

The King seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this *Lord*, as if hee had heard the *Newes* of some strange and fearefull *Prodigie*. To heare a *Man* that had done him seruice of so high a nature, as to saue his life, and set the Crowne vpon his head; a *Man*, that enioyed by his fauour and aduancement so great a fortune, both in Honour and Riches; a *Man*, that was tied vnto him in so neare a *Band* of alliance, his Brother hauing married the *Kings Mother*; and lastly, a *Man*, to whom he had committed the trust of his *Person*, in making him his *Chamberlaine*. That this *Man*, no wayes disgraced, no wayes discontent, no wayes put

put in feare, should be false vnto him. CLIFFORD was required to say ouer againe, and againe, the *Particulars* of his accusation; being warned, that in a matter so vnlikely, and that concerned so great a Seruant of the Kings, hee should not in any wise go too farre. But the King finding that he did sadly, and constantly (without hesitation or varying, and with those ciuill Protestations that were fit) stand to that that hee had said, offering to iustifie it vpon his soule and life; hee caused him to be remooued. And after hee had not a little bemoaned himselfe vnto his Councel there present, gaue order that Sir WILLIAM STANLEY should be restrained in his owne Chamber, where hee lay before, in the *Square Tower*. And the next day hee was examined by the Lords. Vpon his *Examination*, hee denied little of that where with hee was charged, nor endeaoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault. So that (not very wisely) thinking to make his Offence lesse by *Confession*, hee made it enough for *Condemnation*. It was conceiued, that hee trusted much to his former merits, and the interest that his Brother had in the King. But those Helpes were ouerweighed by diuers things that made against him, and were predominant in the Kings nature and mind. First, an *Ouer-merit*; for conuenient Merit, vnto which Reward may easily reach, doth best with Kings. Next, the sence of his *Power*; for the King thought, that hee that could set him vp, was the more dangerous to pul him downe. Thirdly, the glimmering of a *Confiscation*; for he was the richest *Subiect* for value in the Kingdome; There beeing found in his *Castle of Holt* forty thousand Marks in readie Money, and Plate, besides *Jewells*, *Houhold-stuffe*, *Stockes* vpon his grounds, and other Personall Estate, exceeding great. And for his Reuenue in *Land* and *Fee*, it was three thousand pounds a yeere of old Rent, a great matter in those times

times. Lastly, the Nature of the *Time*; for if the King had beene out of feare of his owne Estate, it was not vnlike he would haue spared his life. But the Cloud of so great a *Rebellion* hanging ouer his head, made him worke sure. Wherefore after some sixe weekes distance of time, which the King did Honourably interpose, both to giue space to his Brothers Intercession, and to shew to the World, that hee had a conflict with himselfe what hee should doe; hee was arraigned of *High Treason*, and condemned, and presently after beheaded.

Yet is it to this day left but in darke memorie, both what the Case of this *Noble Person* was, for which hee suffered; and what likewise was the ground and cause of his defection, and the alienation of his heart from the King. His *Case* was said to bee this: That in discourse betweene Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD and him, hee had said; *That if hee were sure, that that young man were King EDWARDS Sonne, hee would neuer beare Armes against him.* This *Case* seemes somewhat an hard Case, both in respect of the *Conditionall*, and in respect of the other words. But for the *Conditionall*, it seemeth the *Iudges* of that time (who were learned men, and the three chiefe of them of the *Prinny Councell*) thought it was a dangerous thing to admit *Is* and *Ands*, to qualifie words of *Treason*; whereby euery man might expresse his malice, and blanch his danger. And it was like to the *Case* (in the following times) of ELIZABETH BARTON, the *Holy maide* of Kent: who had said, *That if King HENRY the eighth did not take KATHERINE his Wife againe, hee should bee deprived of his Crowne, and die the death of a Dogge.* And infinite Cases may be put of like nature. Which (it seemeth) the graue *Iudges* taking into Consideration, would not admit of *Treasons* vpon *Condition*. And as for the *Positiue* words, *That hee would not beare Armes against*

against King EDWARDS Sonne; though the words seeme calme, yet it was a plaine and direct *Ouer-ruling* of the Kings Title, either by the *Line* of LANCASTER, or by *Act* of Parliament. Which (no doubt) pierced the King more, then if STANLEY had charged his *Lance* vpon him in the field. For if STANLEY would hold that opinion, that a sonne of King EDWARD had still the better Right, hee beeing so principall a *Person* of authoritie, and fauour about the King; it was to teach all *England*, to say as much. And therefore (as those times were) that speach touched the *Quicke*. But some Writers doe put this out of doubt; for they say, That STANLEY did expressly promise to aide PERKIN, and sent him some helpe of Treasure.

Now for the *Motiu*e of his falling of from the King; It is true, that at *Bosworth Field* the King was beset, and in a manner inclosed round about by the Troupes of King RICHARD, and in manifest danger of his life; when this STANLEY was sent by his Brother, with three thousand Men to his Rescue, which hee performed so, that King RICHARD was slaine vpon the Place. So as the condition of Mortall men is not capable of a greater benefit, then the King receiued by the hands of STANLEY; beeing like the benefit of CHRIST, at once to *Save*, and *Crowne*. For which seruice the King gaue him great gifts, made him his *Councillor*, and *Chamberlaine*; and (somewhat contrarie to his nature) had winked at the great spoiles of *Bosworth Field*, which came almost wholly to this mans hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet neuerthelesse blowne vp with the conceit of his *Merit*, he did not thinke he had receiued good *Measure* from the King, at least not *Pressing-downe*, and running-over, as hee expected. And his Ambition was so exorbitant, and vnbounded, as hee became *Sutor* to the

the King for the *Earledome* of *Chester*. Which euer beeing a kind of *Appennage* to the *Principalitie* of *Wales*, and vsing to goe to the Kings Sonne; his Suit did not onely end in a *Deniall*, but in a *Distaste*. The King perceiuing thereby, that his *Desires* were intemperate, and his *Cogitations* vaste, and irregular, and that his former *Benefits* were but cheape, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the King began not to brooke him well. And as a little *Leauen* of new *Distaste* doth commonly sowre the whole *Lumpe* of former *Merites*; the Kings *Wit* began now to suggest vnto his *Passion*, that STANLEY, at *Bosworth Field*, though hee came time enough to saue his life, yet hee stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet hauing no matter against him, hee continued him in his *Places*, vntill this his *Fall*.

After him was made Lord Chamberlaine, GILES Lord *Dawbeny*, a man of great sufficiencie and valour; the more, because hee was gentle and moderate.

There was a common Opinion, That Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD (who now was become the *State-Informer*) was from the beginning an *Emissarie*, and *Spie* of the Kings; and that hee fled ouer into *Flanders* with his consent and priuitie. But this is not probable; both because hee neuer recovered that Degree of Grace, which hee had with the King before his going ouer; and chiefly, for that the *Discoverie* which hee had made touching the Lord Chamberlaine (which was his great Seruice) grew not from any thing hee learn'd abroad, for that hee knew it well before hee went.

These Executions (and especially that of the Lord Chamberlaines, which was the chiefe strength of the *Partie*, and by meanes of Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD, who was the most inward man of Trust amongst them)

them) did extremely quaille the Designe of PERKIN, and his Complices, as well through Discouragement, as Distrust. So that they were now (like *Sand* without *Lyne*) ill bound together, especially as many as were *English*, who were at a gaze, looking strange one vpon another, not knowing who was faithfull to their *Side*; but thinking, that the King (what with his *Baits*, and what with his *Nets*) would draw them all vnto him, that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to passe, that diuers came away by the *Thred*, sometimes one, and sometimes another. BARLEY (that was *Ioine-Commissioner* with CLIFFORD) did hold out one of the longest, till PERKIN was farre worne; yet made his Peace at the length. But the Fall of this *Great man*, being in so high Authoritie and Fauour (as was thought) with the King; and the manner of Carriage of the Businesse, as if there had beene secret Inquisition vpon him, for a great time before; and the Cause for which hee suffered, which was little more, then for saying in effect, *That the Title of YORKE was better then the Title of LANCASTER*; which was the Case almost of euery man (at the least in Opinion;) was matter of great Terrour amongst all the Kings Seruants and Subiects. Insomuch, as no man almost thought himselfe secure, and men durst scarce commune or talke one with another, but there was a generall Diffidence euery where. Which neuerthelesse made the King rather more *Absolute*, then more *Safe*. For *Bleeding inwards and shut Vapours* strangle soonest, and oppresse most.

Hereupon presently came forth *Swarmes* and *Volies* of *Libels* (which are the *Gusts* of Libertie of Speach restrayned, and the *Females* of Sedition) contayning bitter *Inuectiues*, and *Slanders* against the King, and some of the *Councell*. For the contriuing and dispersing whereof (after great Diligence of Inquirie)

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five meane Persons were caught vp, and executed.

Meane while the King did not neglect *Ireland*, being the Soyle where these *Mushromes* and *Vpstart-Weedes* (that spring vp in a Night) did chiefly prosper. Hee sent therefore from hence (for the better setting of his Affaires there) *Commissioners* of both *Robes*. The *Prior of Lanthony*, to bee his *Chancellor* in that *Kingdome*; and Sir EDWARD POYNINGS, with a Power of Men, and a *Marshall Commission*, together with a Ciuill Power of his *Lieutenant*, with a Clause, That the *Earle of Kildare*, then *Deputie*, should obey him. But the *Wild-Irish* (who were the principall Offendours) fled into the *Woods* and *Bogges*, after their manner; and those that knew themselues guiltie in the *Pale*, fled to them. So that Sir EDWARD POYNINGS was inforced to make a *Wild-Chase* vpon the *Wild-Irish*. Where (in respect of the Mountaines and *Fastnesses*) hee did little good. Which (eyther out of a suspitious Melancholie vpon his bad *Successe*, or the better to saue his Seruice from *Disgrace*) hee would needes impute vnto the *Comfort*, that the *Rebels* should receiue vnder-hand from the *Earle of Kildare*; euery light suspicion growing vpon the *Earle*, in respect of the KILDARE that was in the Action of LAMBERT SIMNELL, and slaine at *Stoke-field*. Wherefore hee caused the *Earle* to bee apprehended, and sent into *England*; where, vpon Examination, hee cleared himselfe so well, as hee was re-placed in his *Gouernment*. But POYNINGS (the better to make compensation of the Meagernesse of his Seruice in the *Warres*, by *Acts of Peace*) called a *Parliament*; where was made that memorable *Act*, which at this day is called POYNINGS *Law*, whereby all the *Statutes* of *England* were made to bee of force in *Ireland*. For before they were not, neyther
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are any now in force in *Ireland*, which were made in *England* since that time; which was the tenth yeare of the King.

About this time began to be discovered in the King that Disposition, which afterward nourished and whet on by bad *Councillors* and *Ministers*, proued the *Blot* of his times; which was the course hee tooke, to crush *Treasure* out of his Subjects Purfes, by forfeitures vpon *Penall-Lawes*. At this men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainely to bee in the *Kings Nature*, and not out of his *Necessitie*, hee being now in *Float* for *Treasure*. For that hee had newly receiued the *Peace-money* from *France*, the *Beneuolence-money* from his Subjects, and great *Casualties* vpon the Confiscations of the *Lord Chamberlaine*, and diuers others. The first noted *Case* of this kind, was that of Sir WILLIAM CAPEL, Alderman of *London*. Who, vpon sundrie *Penall-Lawes*, was condemned in the summe of seuen and twentie hundred pounds, and compounded with the King for sixteene hundred. And yet after, EMPSON would haue cut another *Chop* out of him, if the King had not died in the instant.

The Summer following, the King, to comfort his *Mother* (whom hee did alwaies tenderly loue and reuere) to make open Demonstration to the World, that the proceedings against Sir WILLIAM STANLEY (which was imposed vpon him by necessitie of *State*) had not in any degree diminished the affection he bare to THOMAS his Brother; went in *Progresse* to *Latham*, to make merrie with his *Mother*, and the *Earle*, and lay there diuers dayes.

During this *Progresse*, PERKIN WARBECKE finding that time and Temporizing, which (whilest his practises were couert, and wrought well in *England*) made for him; did now, when they were disco-

ucred and defeated, rather make against him, (for that when matters once goe downe the *Hill*, they stay not without a new force) resolved to trie his aduventure in some exploit vpon *England*; hoping still vpon the affections of the Common-People towards the House of *YORK E*. Which *Body* of Common-People hee thought was not to be practised vpon, as Persons of *Qualitie* are; But that the onely practise vpon their affections, was to set vp a *Standard* in the field. The Place where hee should make his Attempt, hee chose to be the Coast of *Kent*.

The King by this time was growne to such an height of *Reputation* for cunning and *Policie*, that euery Accident and Euent that went well, was laid and imputed to his foresight, as if he had set it before. As in this Particular of *PERKINS* *Designe* vpon *Kent*. For the world would not belieue afterwards, but the King hauing secret Intelligence of *PERKINS* intention for *Kent* (the better to drawe it on) went of purpose into the *North*, a farre off, laying an open side vnto *PERKIN*, to make him come to the *Close*, and so to trip vp his heeles, hauing made sure in *Kent* before hand.

But so it was, that *PERKIN* had gathered together a Power of all Nations, neither in number nor in the hardines and courage of the Persons, contemptible; but in their nature and fortunes, to be feared as well of *Friends* as *Enemies*; being *Banckrupts*, and many of them *Felons*, and such as liued by *Rapine*. These hee put to Sea, and arriued vpon the Coast of *Sandwich*, and *Deale* in *Kent*, about *Iuly*.

There he cast Anchor, and to prooue the affections of the People, sent some of his men to land, making great boasts of the Power that was to follow. The *Kentish-men* perceiuing that *PERKIN* was not followed by any *English* of name or accompt, and that his
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forces consisted but of strangers borne, and most of them base People, and *Free-booters*, fitter to spoyle a *Coast*, then to recouer a *Kingdome*; resorting vnto the principall *Gentlemen* of the Countrie, professed their loyaltie to the King, and desired to bee directed and commanded for the best of the Kings seruice. The *Gentlemen* entring into Consultation, directed some forces in good number, to shew themselues vpon the *Coast*; and some of them to make signes, to entise PERKINS *Souldiers* to land, as if they would ioyn with them; and some others to appeare from some other Places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them, the better to encourage them to land. But PERKIN, (who by playing the *Prince*, or else taught by *Secretarie* FRION, had learned thus much; That People vnder Command, doe vse to consult, and after to march in order, and *Rebells* contrariwise runne vpon an *Head* together in confusion) considering the delay of time, and obseruing their orderly, and not tumultuary Arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily *Youth* would not set one foot out of his Ship, till hee might see things were sure. Wherefore the Kings *Forces* perceiuing that they could draw on no more then those that were formerly landed, set vpon them, and cut them in pieces, ere they could flie back to their Ships. In which *Skirmish* (besides those that fled, and were slaine) there were taken about an hundred and fiftie persons. Which, for that the King thought, that to punish a few for example was *Gentlemans-Pay*, but for *Raskall-People*, they were to bee cut of euery man, especially in the beginning of an Enterprize; and likewise for that he saw, that PERKINS *Forces* would now consist chiefly of such *Rabble* and scumme of desperate People; hee therefore hanged them all for the greater terrour. They were brought to *London*, all rayl'd in Ropes,

Ropes, like a Teame of Horses in a Cart, and were executed some of them at *London*, and *Wapping*, and the rest at diuers places vpon the Sea-Coast of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Norfolke*, for *Sea-markes* or *Light-houses*, to teach *PERKINS* People to auoid the Coast. The King beeing aduertised of the landing of the *Rebels*, thought to leaue his *Progresse*. But being certified the next day, that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, he continued his *Progresse*, and sent Sir *RICHARD GVILFORD* into *Kent* in message. Who calling the Countrie together, did much commend from the King their fidelitie, manhood, and well handling of that seruice; and gaue them all thanks, and (in priuate) promised Reward to some particulars.

Vpon the sixteenth of *November* (this being the eleuenth yeare of the King) was holden the *Serieants-Feast* at *Elie-Place*, there beeing nine *Serieants* of that *Call*. The King to honour the Feast, was present with his *Queene* at the Dinner; beeing a *Prince*, that was euer readie to grace and countenance the professors of the *Law*; hauing a little of that, *That as hee gouerned his Subiects by his Lawes, so hee gouerned his Lawes by his Lawyers.*

This yeare also the King entred into League with the *Italian Potentates* for the defence of *Italie*, against *France*. For King *CHARLES* had conquered the *Realme of Naples*, and lost it againe, in a kind of *Felicite* of a Dreame. Hee passed the whole length of *Italie* without resistance, so that it was true which *Pope ALEXANDER* was wont to say; *That the Frenchmen came into Italie, with Chalke in their hands, to marke vp their lodgings, rather then with swords to fight.* Hee likewise entred, and wonne (in effect) the whole Kingdome of *Naples* it selfe, without striking stroke. But presently thereupon, he did commit and multiply so many *Errours*, as was too great a taske for the best fortune

fortune to overcome. Hee gaue no contentment to the *Barons of Naples*, of the *Faction* of the *Angeouines*; but scattered his rewards according to the mercenarie appetites of some about him. Hee put all *Italie* vpon their *Guard*, by the seazing and holding of *Ostia*, and the protecting of the *Libertie* of *Pisa*; which made all men suspect, that his purposes looked further; then his title of *Naples*. Hee fell too soone at difference with *LYDOVICO SFORTIA*, who was the Man that carried the *Keyes*, which brought him in, and shut him out. Hee neglected to extinguish some reliques of the Warre. And lastly, in regard of his easie passage through *Italie* without resistance, hee entred into an ouermuch despising of the *Armes* of the *Italians*. Whereby hee left the *Realme* of *Naples*, at his departure, so much the lesse prouided. So that not long after his returne, the whole *Kingdome* reuolted to *FERDINANDO* the younger, and the *French* were quite driuen out. Neuerthelesse, *CHARLES* did make both great threats, and great preparations to reenter *Italie* once againe. Wherefore at the instance of diuers of the *States* of *Italie* (and especially of *Pope ALEXANDER*) there was a *League* concluded, betweene the said *Pope*, *MAXIMILIAN* King of *Romans*, *HENRY* King of *England*, *FERDINANDO* and *ISABELLA*, King and Queene of *Spaine* (for so they are constantly placed in the originall *Treatie* throughout) *AVGVSTINO BARBADICO*, Duke of *Venice*, and *LYDOVICO SFORTIA*, Duke of *Mil-lan*, for the common defence of their estates. Wherein though *FERDINANDO* of *Naples* was not named as principall; yet (no doubt) the *Kingdome* of *Naples* was tacitly included, as a *Fee* of the Church.

There died also this yeare *CECILE Dacheffe* of *Yorke*, mother to King *EDWARD* the Fourth, at her Castle of *Barkhamsted*, beeing of extreme yeares,
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and who had liued to see three *Princes* of her bodie crowned, and foure murthered. Shee was buried at *Foderingham*, by her husband.

This yeare also the King called his *Parliament*, where many *Lawes* were made of a more priuate and vulgar nature, then ought to detaine the *Reader*, of an *Historie*. And it may bee iustly suspected, by the proceedings following, that as the King did excell in good Common-wealth *Lawes*; so neuerthelesse hee had (in secret) a designe to make vse of them, as well for collecting of *Treasure*, as for correcting of *Manners*; and so meaning thereby to harrow his People, did accumulate them the rather.

The principall *Law* that was made this *Parliament*, was a *Law* of a strange nature: rather *Iust*, then *Legall*; and more magnanimous, then prouident. This *Law* did ordaine, That no person, that did assist in *Armes*, or otherwise, the King for the time beeing, should after bee impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the course of the *Law*, or by *Act* of *Parliament*. But if any such *Act* of *Attaindor* did happen to bee made, it should bee voide, and of none effect; For that it was agreeable to reason of *Estate*, that the *Subiect* should not enquire of the iustnesse of the Kings Title, or *Quarrell*; and it was agreeable to good *Conscience*, that (whatsoever the fortune of the Warre were) the *Subiect* should not suffer for his Obedience. The spirit of this *Law* was wonderfull Pious and Noble, beeing like in matter of *Warre*, vnto the spirit of *DAVID* in matter of *Plague*, who said; *If I haue sinned, strike mee; but what haue these sheepe done?* Neither wanted this *Law* parts of prudent and deepe foresight. For it did the better take away occasion, for the people to busie themselues, to prie into the Kings Title; for that howsoever it fell, their safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw
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vnto him, the loue and hearts of the People, because hee seemed more carefull for them, then for himselfe. But yet neuerthelesse, it did take of from his *Partie*, that great *Tie* and *Spurre* of necessitie, to fight and goe *Victors* out of the field; considering their liues and fortunes were put in safety, and protected, whether they stood to it or ranne away. But the force and obligation of this *Law* was in it selfe *Illusorie*, as to the latter part of it; by a *precedent Act* of *Parliament*, to bind or frustrate a *future*. For a supreme and absolute *Power* cannot conclude it selfe, neither can that which is in nature reuocable bee made fixed; no more then if a man should appoint or declare by his Will, that if hee made any Latter Will, it should bee void. And for the *Case* of the *Act* of *Parliament*, there is a notable President of it in King HENRY the Eight's time. Who doubting hee might die in the minoritie of his Sonne, procured an *Act* to passe, *That no Statute made during the minoritie of the King, should bind him or his Successours, except it were confirmed by the King vnder his great Seale, at his full age.* But the first *Act* that passed in King EDWARD the Sixt his time, was an *Act* of Repeale of that former *Act*; at which time neuerthelesse the King was *Minor*. But things that doe not bind, may satisfie for the time.

There was also made a shoaring or vnderpropping *Act* for the *Beneuolence*; to make the summes which any person had agreed to pay, and neuerthelesse were not brought in, to bee leuiable by course of Law. Which *Act* did not onely bring in the *Areres*, but did indeed countenance the whole businesse, and was pretended to bee made at the desire of those, that had beene forward to pay.

This *Parliament* also was made that good *Law*, which gaue the *Attaint* vpon a *false Verdict* betweene *Partie* and *Partie*, which before was a kind of *Euangile*,

gile, irremediable. It extends not to causes *Capital*, as well because they are for the most part at the Kings Suite; as because in them (if they be followed in Course of *Indictment*) there passeth a double *Iurie*, the *Indictors*, and the *Tryors*; and so not Twelue Men, but Foure and twentie. But it seemeth that was not the onely reason; for this reason holdeth not in the *Appeale*. But the great reason was, least it should tend to the discouragement of *Jurors* in Cases of *Life* and *Death*; if they should bee subiect to Suit and Penaltie, where the fauour of *Life* maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any Suite, where the *Demand* is vnder the value of fortie pounds; for that in such Cases of pettie value, it would not quite the Charge, to goe about againe.

There was another *Law* made against a branch of *Ingratitude* in Women, who hauing been aduanced by their *Husbands*, or their *Husbands Ancestors*, should alien, and thereby seeke to defeat the *Heyres*, or those in *Remainder*, of the Lands, whereunto they had beene so aduanced. The remedie was, by giuing power to the next, to enter for a forfeiture.

There was also enacted that Charitable *Law*, for the admission of poore Suiters *In Forma Pauperis*, without Fee to *Councillor*, *Attorney*, or *Clerke*, whereby poore men became rather able to *vexe*, then vnable to *sue*. There were diuers other good *Lawes* made that *Parliament*, as we said before: but we still obserue our manner, in selecting out those, that are not of a *Vulgar* nature.

The King this while, though he sate in *Parliament*, as in full Peace, and seemed to account of the designes of PERKIN (who was now returned into *Flanders*) but as a *May-game*; yet hauing the composition of a wise King (*Stout* without, and *apprehensie* within) had giuen order for the watching of *Beacons* vpon the Coasts,

Coasts, and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a carefull eye where this wandering *Cloud* would breake. But PERKIN aduised to keepe his fire (which hitherto burned as it were vpon greene Wood) aliue, with continuall blowing; Sailed againe into *Ireland*, whence he had formerly departed, rather vpon the hopes of *France*, then vpon any vnreadinesse or discouragement hee found in that people. But in the space of time betweene, the Kings *Diligence* and POYNINGS *Commission* had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for PERKIN, but the blustering affection of wilde and naked people. Wherefore he was aduised by his *Counsell*, to seeke aide of the King of *Scotland*; a Prince yong, and Valourous, and in good termes with his Nobles and People, and ill affected to King HENRY. At this time also both MAXIMILIAN and CHARLES of *France* began to beare no good will to the King. The One beeing displeased with the Kings *Prohibition* of Commerce with *Flanders*: The Other holding the King for suspect, in regard of his late entrie into league with the *Italians*. Wherefore besides the open *Aides* of the *Duchesse* of *Burgundy*, which did with *Sayles* and *Oares* put on and aduance PERKINS designs, there wanted not some secret *Tides* from MAXIMILIAN and CHARLES, which did further his fortunes. In so much as they, both by their secret Letters, and Messages, recommended him to the King of *Scotland*.

PERKIN therefore comming into *Scotland* vpon those hopes, with a well appointed companie, was by the King of *Scots* (beeing formerly well prepared) honourably welcomed, and soone after his arriuall admitted to his Presence, in a solemne manner. For the King receiued him in State in his Chamber of Presence, accompanied with diuers of his Nobles. And PERKIN well attended, as well with those that the King

had sent before him, as with his owne *Traine*, entered the roome where the King was, and comming neare to the King, and bowing a little to imbrace him, hee retired some paces backe, and with a loud voice (that all that were present might heare him) made his *Declaration* in this manner.

Hlgh and Mightie King, your Grace, and these your Nobles here present, may bee pleased benignely to bow your Eares, to heare the Tragedie of a young Man, that by Right ought to hold in his hand the Ball of a Kingdome; but by Fortune is made Himselfe a Ball, tossed from Miserie to Miserie, and from Place to Place. You see here before you the Spectacle of a *PLANTAGENET*, who hath beene carried from the Nurserie to the Sanctuarie; from the Sanctuarie, to the direfull Prison; from the Prison, to the Hand of the cruell Tormentor; and from that Hand, to the wide Wildernesse (as I may truly call it) for so the World hath beene to mee. So that hee that is borne to a great Kingdome, hath not Ground to set his foot vpon, more then this where hee now standeth, by your Princely Favour. *EDWARD* the Fourth, late King of England, (as your Grace cannot but haue heard) left two Sonnes; *EDWARD*, and *RICHARD*, Duke of Yorke, both verie young.

young. EDWARD, the eldest, succeeded their Father in the Crowne, by the Name of King EDWARD the Fift. But RICHARD, Duke of Glocester, their unnaturall Unkle, first thirsting after the Kingdome, through Ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their Bloud, out of desire to secure himselfe; imployed an Instrument of his (confident to him, as hee thought) to murther them both. But this Man that was imployed, to execute that execrable Tragedie, hauing cruelly slaine King EDWARD, the eldest of the two, was moued partly by Remorse, and partly by some other meane, to saue RICHARD his Brother; making a Report neuerthelesse to the Tyrant, that hee had performed his Commandement for both Brethren. This Report was accordingly believed, and published generally. So that the World hath beene possessed of an Opinion, that they both were barbarously made away; though euer Truth hath some sparkes that flye abroad, vntill it appeare in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty GOD, that stopped the Mouth of the Lion, and saued little IOAS from the Tyrannie of ATHALIAH, when shee massacred the Kings Children; and did saue ISAACK, when the Hand was stretched forth to sacrifice him; preserved the
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second Brother. For I my selfe, that stand here in your presence, am that very RICHARD, Duke of Yorke, Brother of that infortunate Prince, King EDWARD the First, now the most rightfull suruiuing Heire-Male to that Victorious and most Noble EDWARD, of that Name the Fourth, late King of England. For the manner of my Escape, it is fit it should passe in silence, or (at least) in a more secret Relation; for that it may concerne some aliue, and the memorie of some that are dead. Let it suffice to thinke, that I had then a Mother liuing, a Queene, and one that expected dayly such a Commandement from the Tyrant, for the murdering of her Children. Thus in my tender age escaping by GODS Mercy out of London, I was secretly conueyed over Sea. Where, after a time, the Party that had me in Charge, (vpon what new Feares, change of Minde, or Practice, GOD knoweth) suddenly forsooke me. Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seeke meane Conditions for the sustaining of my Life. Wherefore distracted betweene seuerall Passions, the one of Feare to bee knowne, lest the Tyrant should haue a new Attempt vpon mee; the other of Griefe and Disdaine to bee vnkowne, and to liue in that
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base and seruile manner that I did; I resolved with my selfe, to expect the Tyrants Death, and then to put my selfe into my Sisters hands, who was next Heire to the Crowne. But in this Season, it happened one HENRY TIDDER, sonne to EDMOND TIDDER Earle of Richmond, to come from France, and enter into the Realme, and by subtile and foule meanes to obtaine the Crowne of the same, which to mee rightfully appertained. So that it was but a Change, from Tyrant to Tyrant. This HENRY, my extreme and mortall Enemye, so soone as hee had knowledge of my beeing alieue, imagined and wrought all the subtile wayes and meanes hee could, to procure my finall Destruction. For my mortall Enemye hath not onely falsely surmised mee to bee a fayned Person, giuing mee Nick-names, so abusing the World; But also, to deferre and put mee from entry into England, hath offered large Summes of Money, to corrupt the Princes and their Ministers, with whom I haue beene retayned; and made importune Labours to certaine Seruants about my Person, to murther or poyson mee, and others to forsake and leaue my Righteous Quarrell, and to depart from my Seruice, as Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD, and others. So that euerie
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Man of Reason may well perceiue, that HENRY, calling himselfe King of England, needed not to haue bestowed such great Summes of Treasure, nor so to haue busied himselfe with importune and incessant Labour and Industry, to compasse my Death and Ruine, if I had beene such a fained Person. But the truth of my Cause beeing so manifest, mooued the most Christian King CHARLES, and the Ladie Duchesse Dowager of Burgundie, my most Deare Aunt, not onely to acknowledge the truth thereof, but louingly to assist mee. But it seemeth that GOD aboue (for the good of this whole Island, and the Knitting of these two Kingdomes of England and Scotland in a strait Concord and Amitie, by so great an Obligation) hath reserued the placing of me in the Imperiall Throne of England, for the Armes and Succours of your Grace. Neither is it the first time that a King of Scotland hath supported them, that were bereft and spoyled of the Kingdome of England; as of late (in fresh memorie) it was done in the Person of HENRY the Sixth. Wherefore, for that your Grace hath giuen cleare Signes, that you are in no Noble qualitie inferiour to your Royall Auncestors; I so distressed a Prince, was hereby mooued to come and put my Selfe into your
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Royall Hands, desiring your Assistance to recover my Kingdome of England; promising faithfully to beare my Selſe towards your Grace no otherwise, then if I were your owne Naturall Brother; and will vpon the Recouerie of mine Inheritance, gratefully doe you all the Pleasure that is in my vtmost Power.

AFTER PERKIN had told his Tale, King JAMES answered brauely, and wisely; *That whatſoeuer hee were, ſhould not repent him, of putting himſelfe into his hands.* And from that time forth, though there wanted not ſome about him, that would haue perſwaded him, that all was but an Illuſion; yet notwithstanding, either taken by PERKINS amiable and alluring behauiour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great *Princes* abroad, or willing to take an occasion of a Warre againſt King HENRY, hee entertained him in all things, as became the perſon of RICHARD Duke of Yorke; embraced his Quarrell; and (the more to put it out of doubt, that hee tooke him to hee a great *Prince*, and not a *Representation* only) hee gaue conſent, that this Duke ſhould take to wife the Ladie KATHERIN GORDON, daughter to the Earle Huntley, beeing a neare Kinſwoman to the King himſelfe, and a young *Virgin* of excellent beautie and vertue.

Not long after the King of Scots in perſon, with PERKIN in his companie, entred with a great Armie (though it conſiſted chiefly of *Borderers*, beeing rayſed ſomewhat ſodainly) into Northumberland. And PERKIN, for a *Perſume* before him as hee went,

The Originall of this Proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy Preferuer and Treasurer of rare Antiquities: from whose Manuscripts I haue had much light for the furnishing of this Work.

caused to bee published a *Proclamation* of this tenor following, in the name of *RICHARD Duke of Yorke*, true Inheritour of the Crowne of England.

I*T hath pleased GOD, Who putteth downe the Mightie from their Seat, and exalteth the Humble, and suffereth not the Hopes of the Iust to perish in the end, to giue Vs meanes at the length, to shew Our Selues armed unto Our Leiges and People of England. But far bee it from Vs, to intend their hurt or damage, or to make Warre vpon them, otherwise then to deliuer Our Selfe and them from Tyrannie and Oppression. For Our mortall Enemie HENRY TIDDER, a false Vsurper of the Crowne of England, (which to Vs by Naturall and Lineall Right appertaineth) knowing in his owne Heart Our vndoubted Right, (We beeing the very RICHARD, Duke of Yorke, younger Sonne, and now suruiuing Heire-male of the Noble and Victorious EDWARD the Fcurth, late King of England) hath not onely deprived Vs of Our Kingdome, but likewise by all fowle and wicked meanes, sought to betray Vs, and bereaue Vs of Our Life. Yet if his Tyrannie onely extended it selfe to Our Person (although Our Royall Bloud teacheth Vs to be sensible of Iniuries) it should bee lesse to Our grieve. But this*

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TIDDER, who boasteth himselfe to haue overthrowne a Tyrant, hath euer since his first entrance into his Vsurped Raigne, put little in practise, but Tirannie and the seats thereof.

For King RICHARD, our Unnaturall Vncle, although desire of Rule did blind him, yet in his other actions (like a true PLANTAGENET) was Noble, and loued the Honour of the Realme, and the Contentment and Comfort of his Nobles and People. But this our Mortall Enemy (agreeable to the meannesse of his Birth) hath troden vnder foot the honour of this Nation; selling our best Confederates for Monie, and making Marchandize of the Bloud, Estates; and Fortunes of our Peeres and Subjects, by fained Vvarres, and dishonourable Peace, onely to enrich his Coffers. Nor vnlike hath been his hatefull Mis-gouernement, and euill Deportments at home. First, hee hath (to fortifie his false Quarrell) caused diuers Nobles of this our Realme (whom hee held Suspect, and stood in dread of) to bee cruelly murdered; as our Cousin Sir WILLIAM STANLEY, Lord Chamberlaine, Sir SIMON MOUNTFORT, Sir ROBERT RATCLIFFE, WILLIAM DAWBENY, HUMFREY STAFFORD, and many others, besides such as haue dearely bought their liues with intollerable Ransomes.

Some of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuarie. Also hee hath long kept, and yet keepeth in Prison, our right entirely welbeloued Cosen, EDWARD, Sonne and Heire to our Vnckle Duke of Clarence, and others; withholding from them their rightfull Inheritance, to the intent they should neuer bee of might and power, to aid and assist vs at our need, after the dutie of their Leigeances. Hee also married by Compulsion certaine of our Sisters, and also the Sister of our said Cosen the Earle of Warwicke, and diuers other Ladies of the Royall Bloud, vnto certaine of his Kinsmen and Friends of simple and lowe Degree; and putting apart all Well-disposed Nobles, hee hath none in fauour and trust about his Person, but Bishop Fox, SMITH, BRAY, LOVEL, OLIVER KING, DAVID OWEN, RISELEY, TURBERVILLE, TILER, CHOLMLEY, EMPSON, JAMES HOBART, JOHN CVT, GARTH, HENRY WYAT, and such other Caitifes and Villaines of Birth, which by subtile inventions and Pilling of the People, haue been the principall Finders, Occasioners, and Councillors of the Mis-rule and Mischiefe now raigning in England.

Wee remembring these Premisses, with the great and execrable Offences dayly committed, and done by our foresaid great Enemie, and his
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Adherents, in breaking the Liberties and Franchises of our Mother the Holy Church, vpon pretences of Wicked and Heathenish Policie, to the high displeasure of Almighty GOD, besides the manifold Treasons, abominable Murthers, Man-slaughters, Robberies, Extortions, the dayly Pilling of the People, by Dismes, Taxes, Tallages, Beneuolences, and other vnlawfull Impositions, and grievous Exactions, with many other hainous Effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole Realme: Shall by GODS Grace, and the helpe and assistance of the great Lords of our Bloud, with the Counsell of other sad Persons, see that the Commodities of our Realme bee employed to the most aduantage of the same; the entercourse of Marchandise betwixt Realme and Realme, to bee ministred and handled, as shall more bee to the Common-weale, and prosperity of our Subjects; and all such Dismes, Taxes, Tallages, Beneuolences, vnlawfull Impositions; and grievous Exactions, as be aboue rehearsed, to be fore-done and layd apart, and neuer from henceforth to be called vpon, but in such cases as our Noble Progenitors, Kings of England, haue of old time been accustomed to haue the Aid, Succor, and helpe of their Subiects and true Liege-men.

And further, wee doe out of our Grace and
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Clemencie, hereby as well. publish and promise to all our Subiects Remission and free Pardon of all By-past Offences whatsoever, against our Person, or Estate, in adhering to our said Enemy, by whom (wee know well) they haue beene mis-led, if they shall within time conuenient submit themselves vnto vs. And for such as shall come with the fore-most, to assist our Righteous Quarrell, wee shall make them so farre partakers of our Princely Fauour and Bountie, as shal be highly for the Comfort of them and theirs, both during their Life, and after their Death. As also wee shall by all meanes, which GOD shall put into our hands, demeane our selues, to giue Royall Contentment to all Degrees and Estates of our People, maintaining the Liberties of Holy Church in their Entire, preserving the Honours, Priuiledges, and Preheminences of our Nobles, from Contempt or Disparagement, according to the Dignitie of their Bloud. Wee shall also vnyoke our People from all heauie Burthens, and Endurances, and confirme our Cities, Boroughtes, and Townes, in their Charters and Freedomes, with f[n]largement, where it shall be deserued; and in all points giue our Subiects cause to thinke, that the blessed and debonaire Gouvernement of our Noble Father King EDWARD (in his last times) is in vs reuiued. And

And for as much as the putting to death, or taking alivie of our said Mortall Enemie, may bee a meane to stay much effusion of Bloud, which otherwise may ensue, if by Compulsion or faire Promises, hee shall draw after him any number of our Subiects to resist vs, which wee desire to auoid (though wee bee certainly informed, that our said Enemie is purposed and prepared to fflye the Land, hauing already made ouer great Masses of the Treasure of our Crowne, the better to support him in Forraine Parts) Wee doe hereby declare, That whosoener shall take or distresse our said Enemie (though the Party be of neuer so meane a Condition) hee shall bee by vs rewarded with a Thousand Pound in Money, forthwith to bee laid downe to him, and an Hundred Markes by the yeare of Inheritance, besides that hee may otherwise merit, both toward GOD and all good People, for the destruction of such a Tyrant.

Lastly, wee doe all men to wit, and herein wee take also GOD to witnesse, That whereas GOD hath mooued the Heart of our Dearest Cousin, the King of Scotland, to aide vs in Person, in this our righteous Quarrell; it is altogether without any Pact or Promise, or so much as demaund of any thing, that may preiudice our Crowne or Subiects: But contrariwise,

wise, with promise on our said Cousins part, that whensoever hee shall find vs in sufficient strength to get the upper hand of our Enemye (which wee hope will be very suddenly) hee will forthwith peaceably returne into his owne Kingdome; contenting himselfe onely with the glorie of so Honourable an Enterprise, and our true and faithfull Loue and Amitie: Which wee shall euer (by the Grace of Almighty GOD) so order, as shall be to the great comfort of both Kingdomes.

BVt PERKINS Proclamation did little edifie with the People of England; neither was hee the better welcome for the companie hee came in. Wherefore the King of Scotland seeing none came in to PERKIN, nor none stirred any where in his fauour, turned his enterprise into a *Role*; and wasted and destroyed the Countrey of *Northumberland*, with fire and sword. But hearing that there were Forces comming against him, and not willing that they should find his Men heauie and laden with bootie, hee returned into *Scotland* with great Spoyles, deferring further prosecution, till another time. It is said, that PERKIN acting the part of a *Prince* handsomely, when hee saw the *Scottish* fell to waste the Countrey, came to the King in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, That that might not bee the manner of making the Warre; for that no *Crowne* was so deare to his mind, as that hee desired to purchase it with the blood and ruine of his Countrey. Whereunto the King answered halfe in sport; that hee doubted much, hee was carefull for that that was none of his, and that

that hee should bee too good a *Steward* for his Enemy, to saue the Countrey to his vse.

By this time, beeing the Eleuenth yeare of the King, the Interruption of Trade betweene the *English* and the *Flemmish*, began to pinch the *Merchants* of both Nations very sore. Which mooued them by all meanes they could deuise, to affect and dispose their *Soueraignes* respectiue, to open the *Entercourse* againe. Wherein time fauoured them. For the *Arch-Duke* and his *Councell* beganne to see, that PERKIN would prooue but a *Runnagate*, and *Citizen of the World*; and that it was the part of children, to fall out about *Babies*. And the King on his part, after the Attempts vpon *Kent* and *Northumberland*, beganne to haue the businesse of PERKIN in lesse estimation; so as hee did not put it to accompt, in any Consultation of *State*. But that that mooued him most, was, that beeing a King that loued Wealth and Treasure, hee could not endure to haue *Trade* sicke, nor any Obstruction to continue in the *Gate-vaine*, which disperseth that bloud. And yet he kept State so farre, as first to bee sought vnto. Wherein the *Merchant-Aduenturers* likewise, (beeing a strong Companie at that time, and well vnderfet with rich Men, and good order) did hold out brauely; taking of the Commodities of the *Kingdome*, though they lay dead vpon their hands for want of *Vent*. At the last, *Commissioners* met at *London*, to Treate. On the Kings part; Bishop FOXE Lord *Prinie Seale*, Viscount WELLS, KENDAL Prior of Saint IOHNS, WARHAM Master of the *Rolls*, who beganne to gaine much vpon the Kings opinion; VRSWICK, who was almost euer one; and RISELEY. On the *Arch-Dukes* part, the Lord BEVERS, his *Admirall*, the Lord VERVENSEL *President of Flanders*, and others. These concluded a perfect Treatie, both of *Amitie* and *Inter-*
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course, betweene the King and the Arch-Duke; Contayning Articles both of State, Commerce, and Free-Fishing. This is that *Treatie*, which the *Flemmings* call at this day, *Intercursus Magnus*, both because it is more compleat, then the precedent *Treaties*, of the Third and Fourth yeare of the King; and chiefly to giue it a difference, from the *Treatie* that followed in the One and twentieth yeare of the King, which they call *Intercursus Malus*. In this *Treatie*, there was an expresse Article against the Reception of the Rebels of either Prince by other; ~~that if any such~~ ^{howe the} ~~Rebell~~, that if any such *Rebell* should bee required by the Prince whose *Rebell* hee was, of the Prince *Confederate*, that forthwith the Prince *Confederate* should by *Proclamation* command him to auoid the Countrie; which if hee did not within fifteene dayes, the *Rebell* was to stand proscribed, and put out of *Protection*. But neuerthelesse in this Article, PERKIN was not named, neither perhaps contayned, because hee was no *Rebell*. But by this meanes his wings were clipt of his Followers, that were *English*. And it was expressly comprised in the *Treatie*, that it should extend to the Territories of the *Duchesse Dowager*. After the *Intercourse* thus restored, The *English Merchants* came againe to their *Mansion* at *Antwerpe*, where they were receiued with *Procession* and great Ioy.

The Winter following, beeing the Twelfth yeare of his raigne, The King called againe his *Parliament*: where hee did much exaggerate both the *Malice*, and the cruell *Predatorie Warre* lately made by the King of *Scotland*. That that King, beeing in Amitie with him, and no wayes prouoked, should so burne in hatred towards him, as to drinke of the *Lees* and *Dreggs* of PERKINS *Intoxication*, who was euery where else detected and discarded. And that when hee perceiued it was out of his reach, to doe the King any hurt, hee

hee had turned his Armes vpon vnarmed and vnprovided *People*, to spoyle only and depopulate, contrarie to the *Lawes* both of *Warre* and *Peace*. Concluding, that hee could neither with Honour, nor with the safety of his *People*, to whom hee did owe Protection, let passe these wrongs vnreuedged: The *Parliament* vnderstood him well, and gaue him a *Subsidie*, limited to the summe of one hundred and twentie thousand Pounds, besides two *Fifteenes*. For his *Warres* were alwayes to him as a *Mine of Treasure*, of a strange kind of *Ore*; *Iron* at the top, and *Gold* and *Siluer* at the bottome. At this *Parliament* (for that there had beene so much time spent in making *Laiues* the yeare before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the *Scottish Warre*) there were no *Lawes* made to bee remembred. Only there passed a *Law*; at the Suit of the *Merchant-Aduenturers* of *England*, against the *Merchant-Aduenturers* of *London*, for *Monopolizing* and exacting vpon the Trade. Which it seemeth they did a little to saue themselues, after the hard time they had sustained by want of Trade. But those *Innouations* were taken away by *Parliament*.

But it was fatall to the King, to fight for his money. And though hee auoided to fight with *Enemies* abroad, yet hee was still inforced to fight for it with *Rebels* at home. For no sooner beganne the *Subsidie* to bee leuied in *Corn-wall*, but the *People* there began to grudge and murmur. The *Cornish* beeing a Race of Men, stout of stomack, mightie of Bodie and Limme, and that liued hardly in a barren Countrie, and many of them could (for a need) liue vnder ground, that were *Tinners*. They muttered extremely, that it was a thing not to bee suffered, that for a little stirre of the *Scots*, soone blowne ouer, they should bee thus grinded to Powder with *Payments*. And said it was for them to pay, that had too much, and liued idly. But

they would eate their bread, that they got with the sweat of their browes, and no man should take it from them. And as in the *Tides* of *People* once vp, there want not commonly stirring *Winds* to make them more rough; So this *People* did light vpon two *Ring-leaders*, or *Captaines* of the *Rout*. The one was one MICHAEL IOSEPH, a *Black-smith* or *Farrier* of *Bodmin*, a notable talking Fellow, and no lesse desirous to bee talked of. The other was THOMAS FLAMMOCK, a *Lawyer*, that by telling his neighbours commonly vpon any occasion, that the *Law* was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This Man talked learnedly, and as if hee could tell how to make a *Rebellion*, and neuer breake the *Peace*. Hee told the *People*, that *Subsidies* were not to bee granted, nor leuied in this case; that is, for *Warres* of *Scotland*. For that the *Law* had prouided another course, by seruice of *Escuage*, for those *Iourneyes*; much lesse when all was quiet; and *Warre* was made but a *Pretence* to poll, and pill the *People*. And therefore that it was good, that they should not stand like *Sheepe* before the *Shearers*, but put on *Harneſſe*, and take *Weapons* in their hands. Yet to doe no creature hurt; but goe and deliuer the King a *Strong Petition*, for the laying downe of those grieuous *Payments*, and for the punishment of those that had giuen him that Counsell; to make others beware, how they did the like in time to come. And said, for his part hee did not see how they could doe the dutie of true *Englishmen*, and good *Liege-men*, except they did deliuer the King from such wicked Ones, that would destroy both Him, and the *Countrie*. Their ayme was at *Arch-Bishop* MORTON, and Sir REGINOLD BRAY, who were the Kings *Skreenes* in this Enuie.

After that these two, FLAMMOCKE and the *Blackesmith*, had by ioynt and seuerall *Pratings*, found
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tokens of consent in the *Multitude*, they offered themselves to lead them, vntill they should heare of better men to be their *Leaders*, which they said would be ere long. Telling them further, that they would bee but their seruants, and first in euery danger; but doubted not but to make both the *West-end* and the *East-end* of *England*, to meet in so good a *Quarrell*; and that all (rightly vnderstood) was but for the Kings seruice. The *People* vpon these seditious *Instigations*, did arme (most of them with *Bowes*, and *Arrowes*, and *Bills*; and such other Weapons of rude and Country People) and forthwith vnder the *Command* of their *Leaders* (which in such cases is euer at pleasure) marched out of *Cornwall* through *Deuonshire*, vnto *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, without any slaughter, violence, or spoyle of the Country. At *Taunton* they killed in furie, an officious and eager *Commissioner* for the *Subsidy*, whom they called the *Prouost* of *Perin*. Thence they marched to *Wells*, where the Lord AVDLEY (with whom their *Leaders* had before some secret *Intelligence*) a Noble-man of an ancient *Family*, but vnquiet and popular, and aspiring to Ruine, came in to them, and was by them (with great gladnesse and cries of loy) accepted as their *Generall*; they beeing now proud, that they were lead by a *Noble-man*. The Lord AVDLEY lead them on from *Wells* to *Salisbury*, and from *Salisbury* to *Winchester*. Thence the foolish people, who (in effect) lead their *Leaders*, had a mind to bee lead into *Kent*, fancying that the people there would ioyne with them; contrary to all reason or iudgement, considering the *Kentish-men* had shewed great *Loyaltie* and affection to the King so lately before. But the rude people had heard FLAMMOCK say, *That Kent was neuer Conquered, and that they were the freest people of England*. And vpon these vaine Noises, they looked for great matters at their hands,

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in a cause which they conceited to bee for the libertie of the *Subiect*. But when they were come into *Kent*, the Country was so well settled, both by the Kings late kind vsage towards them, and by the credit and power of the *Earle of Kent*, the *Lord ABERGAVENNIE*, and the *Lord COBHAM*, as neither *Gentleman* nor *Yeoman* came into their aide; which did much dampe and dismay many of the simpler sort. In so much, as diuers of them did secretly flie from the *Armie*, and went home. But the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed *Proud*, then failed in *Hopes* and *Courage*. For as it did somewhat appall them, that the people came not into them; so it did no lesse encourage them, that the Kings *Forces* had not set vpon them, hauing marched from the *West* vnto the *East* of *England*. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped vpon *Blackheath*, betweene *Greenwich* and *Eliham*; threatening either to bid *Battaile* to the King (for now the Seas went higher then to *MORTON*, and *BRAIE*) or to take *London* within his view; imagining with themselves, there to find no lesse *Feare*, then *Wealth*.

But to returne to the King. When first hee heard of this *Commotion* of the *Cornish-men*, occasioned by the *Subsidie*, hee was much troubled therewith. Not for it selfe, but in regard of the Concurrence of other *Dangers*, that did hang ouer him at that time. For hee doubted least a *Warre* from *Scotland*, a *Rebellion* from *Cornewall*, and the *Practices* and *Conspiracies* of *PERKIN* and his *Partakers*, would come vpon him at once. Knowing well, that it was a dangerous *Triplicitie* to a *Monarchie*, to haue the *Armes* of a *Forreiner*, the *Discontents* of *Subiects*, and the *Title* of a *Pretender* to meete. Neuerthelesse, the *Occasion* tooke him in some part well prouided. For as soone as the *Parliament* had broken vp, the King had presently raysed a
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puissant Armie, to Warre vpon Scotland. And King IAMES of Scotland likewise on his part, had made great Preparations cyther for defence, or for new assailing of England. But as for the Kings Forces, they were not onely in preparation, but in readinesse, presently to set forth, vnder the Conduct of DAWBENEY, the Lord Chamberlaine. But as soone as the King vnderstood of the Rebellion of Cornewall, hee stayed those Forces, retayning them for his owne seruice and safetie. But therewithall hee dispatched the Earle of Surrey into the North, for the defence and strength of those Parts, in case the Scots should stirre. But for the course hee held towards the Rebels, it was vtterly differing from his former custome, and practise; which was euer full of forwardnesse and celeritie, to make head against them, or to set vpon them, as soone as euer they were in Action. This hee was wont to doe. But now, besides that hee was attempered by Yeares, and lesse in loue with Dangers, by the continued Fruition of a Crowne; it was a time when the various appearance to his Thoughts of Perils of seuerall Natures, and from diuers Parts, did make him iudge it his best and surest way, to keepe his Strength together, in the Seat and Centre of his Kingdome. According to the ancient Indian Embleme in such a swelling Season, *To hold the hand vpon the middle of the Bladder, that no side might rise.* Besides, there was no necessitie put vpon him, to alter this Counsell. For neyther did the Rebels spoyle the Countrey, in which case it had beene dishonour to abandon his People: Neyther on the other side, did their Forces gather or encrease, which might hasten him to precipitate and assaile them, before they grew too strong. And lastly, both Reason of Estate and Warre seemed to agree with this course: For that Insurrections of base People are commonly more furious

in their Beginnings. And by this meanes also hee had them the more at *Vantage*, being tyred and harrassed with a long march; and more at *Mercie*, beeing cut off farre from their *Countrey*, and therefore not able by any sodaine flight to get to *Retrait*, and to renew the *Troubles*.

When therefore the *Rebels* were encamped on *Black-Heath*, vpon the *Hill*, whence they might behold the Citie of *London*, and the faire *Valley* about it: the King knowing well, that it stood him vpon, by how much the more hee had hitherto protracted the time, in not encountring them, by so much the sooner to dispatch with them, that it might appeare to haue beene no *Coldnesse* in fore-slowing, but *Wisedome* in choosing his time; resolved with all speed to assaile them, and yet with that Prouidence, and Suretie, as should leaue little to *Venture* or *Fortune*. And hauing very great and puissant *Forces* about him, the better to master all *Euent*s and *Accidents*, hee diuided them into three parts. The first was led by the *Earle of Oxford* in chiefe, assisted by the *Earles of Essex* and *Suffolke*. These *Noblemen* were appointed, with some *Cornets of Horse*, and *Bands of Foot*, and good store of *Artillerie* wheeling about, to put themselues beyond the *Hill*, where the *Rebels* were encamped; and to beset all the *Skirts* and *Descents* thereof, except those that lay towards *London*; thereby to haue these *Wilde Beasts* (as it were) in a *Toyle*. The second part of his *Forces* (which were those that were to bee most in *Action*, and vpon which hee relyed most for the *Fortune* of the *Day*) hee did assigne to bee led by the *Lord Chamberlaine*, who was appointed to set vpon the *Rebels* in *Front*, from that side which is toward *London*. The third part of his *Forces* (beeing likewise great and braue *Forces*) hee retained about himselfe, to bee ready vpon all *Euent*s, to restore the *Fight*, or
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consummate the *Victorie*; and meane while, to secure the *Citie*. And for that purpose hee encamped in Person in Saint GEORGES *Fields*, putting himselfe betweene the *Citie*, and the *Rebels*. But the *Citie* of *London* (especially at the first) vpon the neare encamping of the *Rebels*, was in great Tumult. As it vseth to bee with wealthie and populous *Cities*, especially those which beeing for greatnesse, and fortune, *Queenes* of their *Regions*; who seldome see out of their *Windows*, or from their *Towers*, an *Army* of *Enemies*. But that which troubled them most, was the conceit, that they dealt with a *Rout* of *People*, with whom there was no *Composition*, or *Condition*, or orderly *Treating*, if need were: but likely to bee bent altogether vpon *Rapine* and *Spoile*. And although they had heard that the *Rebels* had behaued themselues quietly and modestly, by the way as they went; yet they doubted much that would not last, but rather make them more hungrie, and more in appetite, to fall vpon spoyle in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of *People*, some to the *Gates*, some to the *Walls*, some to the *Water-side*; giuing themselues *Alarmes*, and *Panicke feares* continually. Neuerthelesse both TATE the Lord Maior, and SHAW, and HADDON the *Sheriffs* did their parts stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the *People*. And the King likewise did adioyne some *Captaines* of experience in the *Warres*, to aduise and assist the *Citizens*. But soone after, when they vnderstood that the King had so ordered the matter, that the *Rebels* must winne three *Battailes*, before they could approach the *Citie*, and that hee had put his owne *Person* betweene the *Rebels* and them, and that the great care was rather how to impound the *Rebels*, that none of them might escape, then that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to bee quiet and out of feare.

The rather, for the confidence they reposed (which was not small) in the three Leaders, OXFORD, ESSEX, and DAWBENY; All, men well famed and loued amongst the *People*. As for IASPER Duke of Bedford, whom the King vsed to imploy with the first in his Warres, hee was then sicke, and died soone after.

It was the two and twentieth of *Iune*, and a *Saturday* (which was the *Day* of the weeke the King fancied) when the *Battaile* was fought; though the King had by all the Art hee could deuise, giuen out a false *Day*, as if hee prepared to giue the *Rebels* *Battaile* on the *Monday* following, the better to find them vnprouided, and in disarray. The *Lords* that were appointed to circle the *Hill*, had some dayes before planted themselues (as at the Receipt) in places conuenient. In the afternoone towards the decline of the day (which was done the better to keepe the *Rebels* in opinion, that they should not fight that day) the Lord DAWBENEY marched on towards them, and first ~~some~~ *some Troupes* of them from *Detford-bridge*, where they fought manfully. But beeing in no great number were soone driuen backe, and fled vp to their maine *Armie* vpon the *Hill*. The *Armie* at that time hearing of the approach of the Kings *Forces*, were putting themselues in *Array*, not without much Confusion. But neither had they placed vpon the first high-ground towards the *Bridge*, any *Forces* to second the *Troupes* below, that kept the *Bridge*; neither had they brought forwards their *Maine Battaile* (which stood in array farre into the *Heath*) neare to the ascent of the *Hill*. So that the *Earle* with his *Forces* mounted the *Hill*, and recouered the *Plaine* without resistance. The Lord DAWBENEY charged them with great furie. In so much, as it had like (by accident) to haue brandled the Fortune of the *Day*. For by inconsiderate Forwardnesse in fighting in the head of his *Troupes*,
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hee was taken by the *Rebels*; but immediatly rescued, and deliuered. The *Rebels* maintayned the Fight for a small time, and for their Persons shewed no want of courage. but bceeing ill armed, and ill led, and without *Horse* or *Artillerie*, they were with no great difficultie cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their three Leaders, the Lord AVDLEY, the *Black-smith*, and FLAMMOCK (as commonly the Captaines of *Commotions* are but *halfe-couraged Men*) suffered themselves to bee taken aliue. The number slaine on the *Rebels* part, were some two thousand Men; their *Armie* amounting (as it is said) vnto the number of sixteene thousand. The rest were (in effect) all taken; For that the *Hill* (as was said) was incompassed with the Kings *Forces* round about. On the Kings part there died about three hundred; most of them shot with *Arrowes*, which were reported to bee of the length of a *Taylors yard*; So strong and mightie a Bow the *Cornish-men* were said to draw.

The *Victorie* thus obtayned, the King created diuers *Bannerets*; as well vpon *Blacke-beath*, where his *Lieutenant* had wonne the *Field* (whither hee rode in Person to performe the said *Creation*) as in *Saint GEORGES Fields*, where his owne Person had beene encamped. And for matter of *Liberalitie*, hee did (by open *Edict*) giue the goods of all the *Prisoners* vnto those that had taken them; either to take them in *Kind*, or compound for them, as they could. After matter of *Honour* and *Liberalitie*, followed matter of *Seueritie* and *Execution*. The Lord AVDLEY was led from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a *Paper-Coate* painted with his owne *Armes*; the *Armes* reuerfed, the *Coate* torne, and at *Tower-hill* beheaded. FLAMMOCKE, and the *Black-smith* were hanged, drawne, and quartered at *Tiburne*. The *Black-smith* taking pleasure vpon the *Hurdle* (as it seemeth by words

that hee vitered) to thinke that hee should bee famous in after times. The King was once in mind, to haue sent downe FLAMMOCKE, and the *Blacksmith*, to haue beene executed in *Corne-wall*, for the more terrour. But beeing aduertised, that the *Countrie* was yet vnquiet, and boyling, hee thought better not to irritate the *People* further. All the rest were pardoned by *Proclamation*, and to take out their *Pardons* vnder *Seale*, as many as would. So that more then the bloud drawne in the *Field*, the King did satisfie himselfe with the liues of onely three *Offenders*, for the expiation of this great *Rebellion*.

It was a strange thing to obserue, the varietie and inequalitye of the Kings *Executions* and *Pardons*. And a man would thinke it at the first, a kind of *Lotterie* or *Chance*. But looking into it more nearely, one shall find there was reason for it, much more perhaps, then after so long a distance of time, wee can now discerne. In the *Kentish Commotion* (which was but an handfull of men) there were executed to the number of one hundred and fiftie. But in this so mightie a *Rebellion*, but three. Whether it were, that the King put to accompt the men that were slaine in the *Field*; or that hee was not willing to bee seuerer in a popular Cause; or that the harmelesse behaviour of this *People* (that came from the *West* of *England*, to the *East*, without mischiefe almost, or spoyle of the *Countrey*) did somewhat mollifie him, and mooue him to *Compassion*; or lastly, that hee made a great difference betweene *People*, that did Rebell vpon *Wantounesse*, and them that did Rebell vpon *Want*.

After the *Cornish-men* were defeated, there came from *Calice* to the King, an honourable *Ambassage* from the *French King*, which had arriued at *Calice* a Moneth before, and there was stayed in respect of the troubles; but honourably entertained and defrayed.

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The King, at their first comming sent vnto them, and prayed them to haue patience, till a little *Smoake*, that was raised in his Countrey, were ouer, which would soone be. Sleighting (as his manner was) that openly, which neuerthelesse hee intended seriously.

This *Ambassage* concerned no great Affaire, but onely the *Prolongation* of Dayes, for payment of *Mories*, and some other Particulars of the *Frontiers*. And it was (indeed) but a wooing *Ambassige*, with good respects to entertaine the King in good affection; but nothing was done, or handled, to the derogation of the Kings late *Treatie* with the *Italians*.

But during the time that the *Cornish-men* were in their march towards *London*, the King of *Scotland* well aduertised of all that passed, and knowing himselfe sure of *Warre* from *England*, whensoever those *Stirs* were appeased, neglected not his opportunitie. But thinking the King had his hands full, entred the *Frontiers* of *England* againe with an *Armie*, and besieged the *Castle* of *Norham* in Person, with part of his Forces, sending the rest to Forrage the *Countrie*. But *Fox*, *Bishop* of *Duresme* (a wise man, and one that could see through the *Present*, to the *Future*) doubting as much before, had caused his *Castle* of *Norham* to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kind of *Munition*. And had manned it likewise, with a very great number of tall *Souldiers*, more then for the proportion of the *Castle*, reckoning rather vpon a sharpe *Assault*, then a long *Seige*. And for the *Countrie* likewise, hee had caused the *People* to with-draw their Cattle, and Goods into *Fast Places*, that were not of easie approach; and sent in Post to the *Earle* of *Surrey* (who was not farre off in *Yorkeshire*) to come in diligence to the succour. So as the *Scottish King*, both failed of doing good vpon the *Castle*, and his men had but a *Catching Harvest* of their *Spoiles*. And
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when hee vnderstood, that the *Earle of Surrey* was comming on with great *Forces*, hee returned backe into *Scotland*: The *Earle* finding the *Castle* freed, and the *Enemie* retired, pursued with all celeritie into *Scotland*, hoping to haue ouer-taken the *Scottish King*, and to haue giuen him *Battaile*. But not attaining him in time, sate downe before the *Castle* of *Aton*, one of the strongest places (then esteemed) betweene *Barwicke* and *Edenborough*, which in a small time hee tooke. And soone after, the *Scottish King* retyring further into his *Countrie*, and the weather being extraordinary foule and stormie, the *Earle* returned into *England*. So that the *Expeditions* on both parts were in effect, but a *Castle* taken, and a *Castle* distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the *Forces*, nor to the Heat of the *Quarrell*, nor to the greatnesse of the *Expectation*.

Amongst these *Troubles* both *Ciuilt* and *Externall*, came into *England* from *Spaine* *PETER HIALAS*, some call him *ELIAS*: surely hee was the fore-runner of the good *Hap*, that wee enioy at this day. For his *Ambassage* set the *Truce* betweene *England* and *Scotland*: The *Truce* drew on the *Peace*; the *Peace* the *Marriage*, and the *Marriage* the *Union* of the *Kingdomes*. A *Man* of great *Wisedome*, (and as those times were) not vnlearned, sent from *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* Kings of *Spaine* vnto the King, to treat a *Marriage* betweene *KATHERINE* their second daughter, and *Prince ARTHVR*. This *Treatie* was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that vpon some *Conferences* which hee had with the King touching this busines, the King (who had a great dexteritie in getting sodainely into the bosome of *Ambassadors* of forraine *Princes*, if he liked the men. In so much as hee would many times communicate with them of his
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owre affaires, yea and employ them in his seruice) fell into speach and discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the *Debates* and differences with *Scotland*. For the King naturally did not loue the barren *Warres* with *Scotland*, though he made his profit of the *Noise* of them. And hee wanted not in the *Counsell* of *Scotland* those, that would aduise their King to meet him at the halfe way, & to giue ouer the *Warre* with *England*, pretending to bee good *Patriotes*, but indeed fauouring the affaires of the King. Onely his heart was too great to beginne with *Scotland* for the motion of *Peace*. On the other side, he had met with an *Allie* of FERDINANDO of *Arragon*, as fit for his turne as could bee. For after that King FERDINANDO had vpon assured Confidence of the *Marriage* to succeed, taken vpon him the person of a *Fraternall Allie* to the King, hee would not let (in a *Spanish grauitie*) to counsell the King in his owne affaires. And the King on his part not beeing wanting to himselfe, but making vse of euery mans humours, made his aduantage of this in such things as hee thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceed from himselfe; putting them of, as done by the *Counsell* of FERDINANDO. Wherefore he was content that HIALAS (as in a matter moued and aduised from HIALAS himselfe) should go into *Scotland*, to treat of a *Concord* betweene the two Kings. HIALAS tooke it vpon him, and comming to the *Scottish* King, after hee had with much Art brought King IAMES to hearken to the more safe and quiet Counsells, wrote vnto the King, that hee hoped that *Peace* would with no great difficultie cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate *Counsellour* of his owne, that might treat of the *Conditions*. Whereupon the King directed *Bishop Fox*, (who at that time was at his *Castle* of *Norham*) to conferre with HIALAS, and they both to treat with some

some *Commissioners*, deputed from the *Scottish King*. The *Commissioners* on both sides met. But after much dispute vpon the *Articles* and *Conditions* of *Peace*, propounded vpon either part, they could not conclude a *Peace*. The chiefe *Impediment* thereof was the demand of the King, to haue PERKIN deliuered into his hands, as a *Reproach* to all Kings, and a *Person* not protected by the *Law* of *Nations*. The King of *Scotland* on the other side, peremptorily denied so to doe; saying, That hee (for his part) was no *Competent Iudge* of PERKIN'S Title. But that hee had receiued him as a *Suppliant*, protected him as a *Person* fled for *Refuge*, espoused him with his *Kinswoman*, and aided him with his *Armes*, vpon the beliefe that hee was a *Prince*. And therefore that hee could not now with his Honour so vnrippe and (in a sort) put a *Lye* vpon all that hee had said and done before, as to deliuer him vp to his *Enemies*. The *Bishop* likewise (who had certaine proud instructions from the King, at the least in the *Front*, though there were a pliant clause at the *Foot*, that remitted all to the *Bishops* discretion, and required him by no meanes to breake of in ill termes) after that hee had sayled to obtaine the deliuetie of PERKIN, did moue a second point of his *Instructions*; which was, that the *Scottish King* would giue the King an *Enteruiew* in Person at *Newcastle*. But this beeing reported to the *Scottish King*, his answer was; *That hee meant to treat a Peace, and not to goe a begging for it*. The *Bishop* also (according to another *Article* of his *Instructions*) demanded *Restitution* of the *Spoyles* taken by the *Scottish*, or *Damages* for the same. But the *Scottish Commissioners* answered; *That that was but as Water spilt vpon the ground, which could not bee gotten vp againe; and that the Kings People were better able to beare the losse, then their Master to re-paire it*. But in the end (as Persons capable of reason)

on both sides they made rather a kind of *Recesse*, then a *Breach of Treaty*, and concluded vpon a *Truce* for some moneths following. But the King of *Scotland*, though hee would not formally retract his Iudgement of PERKIN, wherein hee had engaged himselfe so farre; yet in his priuate opinion vpon often speach with the *English-men*, and diuers other aduertisements, began to suspect him for a *Counterfeit*. Wherefore in a Noble fashion hee called him vnto him, and recounted the Benefits and faucurs that hee had done him, in making him his *Allie*, and in prouoking a Mightie and Opu-
 lent King by an *Offensiu Warre* in his *Quarrell*, for the space of two yeares together. Nay more, that hee had refused an Honourable *Peace*, wherof hee had a faire Offer, if hee would haue deliuered him; and that to keepe his promise with him, hee had deeply offended both his *Nobles* and *People*, whom hee might not hold in any long discontent. And therefore required him to thinke of his owne *Fortunes*, and to choose out some fitter place for his *Exile*. Telling him withall, that hee could not say, but the *English* had forsaken him before the *Scottish*; for that vpon two seuerall Trials, none had declared themselues on his side. But neuerthelesse hee would make good what he said to him at his first receiuing, which was; *That hee should not repent him, for putting himselfe into his hands*; For that he would not cast him of, but helpe him with Shipping and meanes, to transport him where hee should desire. PERKIN not descending at all from his *Stage-like* Greatnesse, answered the King in few words; *That hee sawe his time was not yet come; But whatsoener his Fortunes were, hee should both thinke and speake Honour of the King*. Taking his leaue, hee would not thinke on *Flanders*, doubting it was but hollow ground for him, since the *Treaty* of the *Arch-Duke* concluded the yeare before; but tooke his *Ladie*, and such Followers

as would not leaue him, and sailed ouer into *Ireland*.

This Twelfth yeare of the King, a little before this time, *Pope ALEXANDER* (who loued best those *Princes* that were furthest of, and with whom hee had least to doe) taking very thankfully the Kings late entrance into *League*, for the defence of *Italie*, did remunerate him with an *Hallowed-Sword*, and *Cap-of-Maintenance* sent by his *Nuncio*. *Pope INNOCENT* had done the like, but it was not receiued in that *Glory*. For the King appointed the *Maior* and his *Brethren* to meete the *Popes Orator* at *London-Bridge*, and all the *Streetes* between the *Bridge-foot* and the *Palace of Paules* (where the King then lay) were garnished with the *Citizens*, standing in their *Liueries*. And the Morrow after (beeing *All-hallowes day*) the King, attended with many of his *Prelates*, *Nobles*, and *Principall Courtiers* went in *Procession* to *Paules*, and the *Cap*, and *Sword* were borne before him. And after the *Procession*, the King himselte remaining seated in the *Quire*, the *Lord Archbishop* vpon the greece of the *Quire*, made a long *Oration*. Setting forth the greatnesse and *Eminencie* of that *Honour*, which the *Pope* (in these *Ornaments* and *Ensignes of Benediction*) had done the King; and how rarely, and vpon what high deserts they vsed to bee bestowed. And then recited the Kings principall *Acts* and *Merits*, which had made him appeare worthy in the eies of his *Holinesse* of this great *Honour*.

All this while the *Rebellion of Cornewall* (whereof wee haue spoken) seemed to haue no Relation to *PERKIN*; saue that perhaps *PERKINs Proclamation* had stricken vpon the right *Veine*, in promising to lay downe *Exactions* and *Payments*, and so had made them now and then haue a *Kind-thought* on *PERKIN*. But now these *Bubbles* by much stirring began to meet, as they

they vse to doe vpon the top of *Water*. The Kings lenitie (by that time the *Cornish Rebels*, who were taken and pardoned, and (as it was said) many of them sold by them that had taken them, for twelue pence and two shillings apiece, were come downe into their Countrey) had rather imboldened them, then reclaymed them. Infomuch, as they stucke not to say to their Neighbours, and Countreymen, *That the King did well to pardon them, for that hee knew hee should leaue few Subiects in England, if hee hanged all that were of their minde.* And began whetting and inciting one another to renew the *Commotion*. Some of the subtillest of them hearing of PERKINS beeing in *Ireland*, found meanes to send to him, to let him know, that if hee would come ouer to them, they would serue him.

When PERKIN heard this Newes, hee began to take heart againe, and aduised vpon it with his *Councell*, which were principally three; HERNE a *Mercer*, that had fled for Debt; SKELTON a *Taylor*, and ASTLEY a *Scrivener*; for Secretarie FRION was gone. These told him, that hee was mightily ouerseene, both when hee went into *Kent*, and when hee went into *Scotland*. The one beeing a place so neare *London*, and vnder the Kings Nose; and the other a Nation so distasted with the People of *England*, that if they had loued him neuer so well, yet they would neuer haue taken his part in that Companie. But if hee had beene so happie, as to haue beene in *Cornewall* at the first, when the People began to take *Armes* there, hee had beene crowned at *Westminster* before this time. For these Kings (as hee had now experience) would sell poore *Princes* for shooes. But hee must relye wholly vpon *People*; and therefore aduised him to sayle ouer with all possible speed into *Cornewall*. Which accordingly hee did; hauing in his companie

four small *Barkes*, with some six score or seven score fighting men. Hee arrived in *September* at *Whit-sand-Bay*, and forthwith came to *Bodmin*, the *Blacksmiths Towne*: Where there assembled vnto him to the number of three thousand men, of the rude People. There hee set forth a new *Proclamation*, stroaking the People with faire Promises, and humouring them with *Inuectiues* against the King and his *Gouernment*. And as it fareth with *Smoake*, that neuer looseth it selfe, till it bee at the highest; hee did now before his end rayse his *Stile*, intituling himselfe no more *RICHARD, Duke of Yorke*, but *RICHARD the Fourth, King of England*. His *Councell* aduised him by all meanes, to make himselfe *Master* of some good walled *Towne*; as well to make his Men finde the sweetnesse of rich *Spoyles*, and to allure to him all loose and lost *People*, by like hopes of *Bootie*; as to bee a sure *Retrait* to his *Forces*, in case they should haue any ill *Day*, or vnluckie *Chance* in the *Field*. Wherefore they tooke heart to them, and went on, and besieged the Citie of *Excester*, the principall *Towne* for Strength and Wealth in those *Parts*.

When they were come before *Excester*, they forbore to vse any Force at the first, but made continuall *Shouts* and *Out-cryes*, to terrifie the *Inhabitants*. They did likewise in diuers places call and talke to them from vnder the Walls, to ioyne with them, and bee of their *Partie*; telling them, That the King would make them another *London*, if they would bee the first *Towne* that should acknowledge him. But they had not the wit, to send to them in any orderly fashion *Agents* or *chosen Men*, to tempt them, and to treat with them. The *Citizens* on their part shewed themselues stout and loyall Subiects. Neyther was there so much as any *Tumult* or *Diuisiō* amongst them; but all prepared themselues for a valiant *Defence*, and making
good

good the *Towne*. For well they saw, that the *Rebels* were of no such Number or Power, that they needed to feare them as yet; and well they hoped, that before their *Numbers* encreased, the Kings *Succours* would come in. And howsoeuer, they thought it the extreamest of Euils, to put themselues at the mercie of those hungrie and disorderly People. Wherefore setting all things in good order within the *Towne*, they neuertheless let downe with Cords, from seuerall parts of the Walls priuily, seuerall *Messengers* (that if one came to mischance, another might passe on) which should aduertise the King of the State of the *Towne*, and implore his Aide. PERKIN also doubted, that *Succours* would come ere long; and therefore resolved to vse his utmost Force to assault the *Towne*. And for that purpose hauing mounted *Scaling-Ladders* in diuers places vpon the Walls, made at the same instant an *Attempt*, to force one of the *Gates*. But hauing no *Artillerie* nor *Engines*, and finding that hee could doe no good by ramming with Logges of *Timber*, nor by the vse of Iron *Barres* and Iron *Crowes*, and such other meanes at hand, he had no way left him, but to set one of the *Gates* on fire; which he did. But the Citizens well perceiuing the Danger, before the *Gate* could bee fully consumed, blocked vp the *Gate*, and some space about it on the inside, with Faggots and other Fuell, which they likewise set on fire, and so repulsed fire with fire. And in the meane time raised vp *Rampiers* of earth, and cast vp deep *Trenches*, to serue in stead of *Wall* and *Gate*. And for the *Escaladaes*, they had so bad successe, as the *Rebels* were driuen from the *Walles* with the losse of two hundred men.

The King when hee heard of PERKINS Siege of *Excester*, made sport with it, and said to them that were about him; *That the King of Rake-bells was landed in the West, and that hee hoped now to haue the honour*
to

to see him, which hee could neuer yet doe. And it appeared plainly to those that were about the King, that hee was indeed much ioyed with the newes of PERKINS beeing in *English ground*, where he could haue no retrait by land; thinking now, that hee should bee cured of those priuie *Stitches*, which hee had had long about his *Heart*, and had somtimes broken his *Sleepes* in the middest of all his Felicitie. And to set all mens hearts on fire, hee did by all possible meanes let it appeare, that those that should now doe him seruice, to make an end of these troubles, should bee no lesse accepted of him, then hee that came vpon the *Eleuenth* houre, and had the whole *Wages* of the *Daie*. Therefore now (like the end of a *Play*) a great number came vpon the *Stage* at once. Hee sent the Lord Chamberlaine, and the Lord BROOKE, and Sir RICE AP THOMAS, with expedite forces to speed to *Excester*, to the Rescue of the Towne, and to spread the Fame of his owne following in Person with a *Royall Armie*. The Earle of *Deuonshire*, and his Sonne, with the CAROES, and the FVLFORDES, and other principall Persons of *Deuonshire* (vncalled from the *Court*, but hearing that the Kings heart was so much bent vpon this seruice) made halte with *Troupes*, that they had raised, to bee the first that should succour the Citie of *Excester*, and preuent the Kings Succours. The Duke of *Buckingham* likewise, with many braue Gentlemen, put themselues in *Armes*, not staying either the Kings, or the Lord Chamberlaines comming on, but making a Bodie of Forces of themselues, the more to indeare their merite; signifying to the King their readinesse, and desiring to know his pleasure. So that according to the Prouerbe; *In the comming downe, euery Saint did helpe*.

PERKIN hearing this thunder of *Armes*, and preparations against him from so many parts, raised his

his *Siege*, and marched to *Taunton*; beginning alreadie to squint one Eye vpon the *Crowne*, and another vpon the *Sanctuarie*. Though the *Cornish-men* were become like *Metall* often fired and quenched, churlish, and that would sooner breake then bow; swearing and vowing not to leaue him, till the vttermost drop of their bloud were spilt. Hee was at his rising from *Excester* betweene six and seuen thousand strong, many hauing come vnto him, after hee was set before *Excester*, vpon Fame of so great an *Enterprise*, and to partake of the *Spoile*; Though vpon the rayfing of his *Siege*, some did slippe away. When hee was come neare *Taunton*, hee dissembled all feare, and seemed all the day to vse diligence, in preparing all things readie to fight. But about Midnight, hee fled with threescore Horse to *Bewley*, in the *New-Forrest*, where hee and diuers of his Companie registered themselues *Sanctuarie-men*, leauing his *Cornish-men* to the *Foure Winds*. But yet thereby easing them of their *Vow*, and vsing his wonted Compassion, *not to bee by, when his Subiects blouds should bee spilt*. The King, as soone as hee heard of *PERKINS Flight*, sent presently fife hundred Horse to pursue and apprehend him, before hee should get either to the *Sea*, or to that same little *Island*, called a *Sanctuarie*. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could doe, was to beset the *Sanctuarie*, and to maintayne a strong *Watch* about it, till the Kings pleasure were further knowne. As for the rest of the *Rebels*, they (beeing destituted of their head) without stroke stricken, submitted themselues vnto the Kings Mercie. And the King, who commonly drew Bloud (as *Physicians* doe) rather to saue Life then to spill it, and was neuer *Cruell* when hee was *Secure*; now hee saw the Danger was past, pardoned them all in the end, except some few desperate persons which hee reserued

referred to be executed, the better to set of his *Mercie* towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some Horse to Saint MICHAELS Mount in *Cornewall*, where the *Ladie KATHERIN GORDON* was left by her Husband, whom in all Fortunes shee entirely loued; adding the vertues of a *Wife*, to the vertues of her *Sexe*. The King sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether shee might be with *Child*, whereby the businesse would not haue ended in PERKINS person. When shee was brought to the King, it was commonly said, that the King receiued her not onely with *Compassion*, but with *Affection*; *Pitie* giuing more *Impression* to her excellent *Beautie*. Wherefore comforting her (to serue as well his *Eye*, as his *Fame*) hee sent her to his *Queene*, to remaine with her; giuing her very honourable *Allowance* for the support of her *Estate*, with shee enioyed both during the Kings life, and many yeares after. The name of the *White-Rose* (which had beene giuen to her Husbands *False-Title*) was continued in common speech to her true *Beautie*.

The King went forwards on his Journey, and made a Ioyfull entrance into *Excester*, where hee gaue the *Citizens* great commendations and thanks; and taking the *Sword* hee wore from his side, hee gaue it to the *Maier*, and commanded it should be euer after carried before him. There also hee caused to be executed some of the *Ring-leaders* of the *Cornish-men*, in sacrifice to the *Citizens*, whom they had put in feare, and trouble. At *Excester* the King consulted with his *Counsell*, whether hee should offer life to PERKIN, if hee would quit the *Sanctuarie*, and voluntarily submit himselfe. The *Counsell* were diuided in opinion. Some aduised the King to take him out of *Sanctuary* perforce, and to put him to death, as in a case of *Necessity*, which in it selfe dispenseth with *Consecrated Places*, and things

things. Wherein they doubted not also, but the King should find the *Pope* tractable, to ratifie his *Deed*, either by *Declaration*, or (at least) by *Indulgence*. Others were of opinion (since all was now safe, and no further hurt could bee done) that it was not worth the exposing of the King to new *Scandall* and *Enuy*. A third sort fell vpon the opinion, that it was not possible for the King euer, either to satisfie the world well touching the *Imposture*, or to learne out the bottome of the *Conspiracie*, except by promise of *Life* and *Pardon*, and other faire meanes, hee should get PERKIN into his hands. But they did all in their *Preambles* much bemoane the Kings Case, with a kind of *Indignation* at his *Fortune*; That a *Prince* of his high *Wisedome* and *Vertue*, should haue been so long, and so oft exercised and vexed with *Idols*. But the King said; that it was the *Vexation* of G O D *Almightie* himselfe, to be vexed with *Idols*, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his Friends. And that for himselfe, hee alwayes despised them; but was grieued that they had put his *People* to such trouble and misery. But (in Conclusion) hee leaned to the third opinion, and so sent some to deale with PERKIN. Who seeing himselfe Prisoner, and destitute of all hopes, hauing tried *Princes* and *People*, *Great* and *Small*, and found all either false, faint, or infortunate, did gladly accept of the Condition. The King did also (while hee was at *Excester*) appoint the Lord DARCIE, and others *Commissioners*, for the *Fining* of all such, as were of any value, and had any hand or partaking in the aide or comfort of PERKIN, or the *Cornish-men*, either in the *Field*, or in the *Flight*.

These *Commissioners* proceeded with such strictnesse and seueritie, as did much obscure the Kings Mercie in sparing of *Bloud*, with the bleeding of so much *Treasure*. PERKIN was brought vnto the Kings Court,

but not to the Kings presence; though the King (to satisfie his *Curiositie*) saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. Hee was in shew at libertie, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, and willed to follow the King to *London*. But from his first appearance vpon the *Stage*, in his new person of a *Sycophant* or *Iugler*, instead of his former Person of a *Prince*, all men may thinke how hee was exposed to the derision, not onely of the *Courtiers*, but also of the *Common-People*, who flocked about him as hee went along; that one might knowe a farre of, where the *Oyle* was, by the *Flight* of *Birds*. Some mocking, some wondring, some cursing, some prying and picking matter out of his Countenance and Gesture, to talke of. So that the false *Honour* and *Respects* which hee had so long enioyed, was plentifully repaid in *Scorne* and *Contempt*. As soone as hee was come to *London*, the King gaue also the *Citie* the solace of this *May-Game*. For hee was conueighed leasurly on Horsebacke (but not in any ignominious fashion) through *Cheape-side*, and *Cornewall*, to the *Tower*; and from thence backe againe vnto *Westminster*, with the *Churme* of a thousand taunts and reproches. But to amend the *Show*, there followed a little distance of *PERKIN*, an inward *Councillour* of his, One that had beene *Ser-icant Farrier* to the King. This Fellow, when *PERKIN* tooke *Sanctuarie*, chose rather to take an *Holy-Habit*, then an *Holy Place*, and clad himselfe like an *Hermite*, and in that weede wandred about the *Countrie*, till hee was discovered, and taken. But this Man was bound hand and foote vpon the Horse, and came not backe with *PERKIN*, but was left at the *Tower*, and within few dayes after Executed. Soone after, now that *PERKIN* could tell better what himselfe was, he was diligently examined; and after his *Confession* taken, an *Extract* was made of such parts of them,

as

as were though fit to bee divulged, which was Printed and disperfed abroad. Wherein the King did himfelfe no Right. For as there was a laboured *Tale* of particulars, of PERKINS *Father*, and *Mother*, and *Grandfire*, and *Grand-mother*, and *Unckles*, and *Coffens*, by *Names* and *Sirnames*, and from what places hee trauailed vp and downe; fo there was little or nothing to purpofe of any thing concerning his *Defignes*, or any *Practifes* that had beene held with him; nor the *Ducheffe* of *Burgundie* her felfe (that all the World did take knowledge of, as the *Perfon* that had put *Life* and *Being* into the whole *Busineffe*) fo much as named or pointed at. So that men miffing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt then before. But the King chofe rather not to fatisfie, then to kindle *Coales*. At that time alfo it did not appeare by any new *Examinations* or *Commitments*, that any other *Perfon* of qualitie was difcouered or appeached, though the Kings closeneffe made that a *Doubt-Dormant*.

About this time, a great *Fire* in the night time fo dainely began at the Kings *Pallace* of *Shyne*, neare vn-to the Kings owne *Lodgings*, whereby a great part of the Building was consumed, with much coftly *Houfhould-ftuffe*; which gaue the King occafion of Building from the ground, that fine *Pile* of *Richmond*, which is now ftanding.

Somewhat before this time alfo, there fell out a memorable Accident. There was one SEBASTIAN GABATO, a *Venetian*, dwelling in *Bristow*, a man feene and expert in *Cosmographie* and *Nauigation*. This Man feeing the Succeffe; and emulating perhaps the enterprife of CHRISTOPHERVS COLVMBVS in that fortunate difcouerie towards the *Southweft*, which had beene by him made fome fixe yeares before; conceited with himfelfe, that *Lands*

at Richmond

might likewise bee discouered towards the *Northwest*. And surely it may bee hee had more firme and pregnant Coniectures of it, then COLVMBVS had of this at the first. For the two great *Islands* of the *Old* and *New World*, beeing (in the shape and making of them) broad towards the *North*, and pointed towards the *South*; it is likely, that the discouerie first beganne where the *Lands* did nearest meet. And there had beene before that time a discouerie of some *Lands*, which they tooke to bee *Islands*, and were indeed the *Continent* of *America*, towards the *Northwest*. And it may bee, that some Relation of this nature comming afterwards to the knowledge of COLVMBVS, and by him suppressed, (desirous rather to make his Enterprise the *Child* of his *Science* and *Fortune*, then the *Follower* of a former *Discouerie*) did giue him better assurance, that all was not *Sea*, from the *west* of *Europe* and *Africke* vnto *Asia*, then either *SENECA'S Prophecie*, or *PLATO'S Antiquities*, or the Nature of the *Tides*, and *Land-winds*, and the like, which were the *Coniectures* that were giuen out, whereupon hee should haue relied. Though I am not ignorant, that it was likewise laid vnto the casuall and wind-beaten *Discouerie* (a little before) of a *Spanish Pilot*, who died in the house of COLVMBVS. But this GABATO bearing the King in hand, that hee would find out an *Island* endued with rich Commodities, procured him to man and victuall a Ship at *Bristow*, for the discouerie of that *Island*. With whom ventured also three small Shippes of *London-Merchants*, fraught with some grosse and sleight Wares, fit for Commerce with barbarous people. Hee sayled (as hee affirmed at his Returne, and made a *Card* thereof) very farre *Westwards*, with a *Quarter* of the *North*, on the *North-side* of *Tierra de Labrador*, vntill hee came to the *Latitude* of sixtie seuen Degrees and an halfe, finding

finding the *Seas* still open. It is certaine also, that the *Kings* Fortune had a tender of that great *Empire* of the *West-Indies*. Neither was it a *Refusall* on the *Kings* part, but a *Delay* by accident, that put by so great an *Acquest*. For CHRISTOPHERVS COLVMBVS refused by the King of *Portugall* (who would not embrace at once both *East* and *West*) imployed his Brother BARTHOLOMEVS COLVMBVS vnto King HENRY, to negotiate for his *Discouerie*. And it so fortun'd, that hee was taken by *Pirates* at *Sea*, by which accidentall impediment hee was long ere hee came to the King. So long, that before hee had obtayned a *Capitulation* with the King for his Brother, the *Enterprise* by him was atchieued, and so the *West-Indies* by *Providence* were then reserued for the *Crowne* of *Castilia*. Yet this sharpen'd the King so, that not onely in this *Voyage*, but againe in the Sixteenth yeare of his *Raigne*, and likewise in the Eighteenth thereof, hee granted forth new *Commissions*, for the *Discouerie* and inuesting of vnknowne *Lands*.

In this Fourteenth yeare also (by *Gods* wonderfull *providence*, that boweth things vnto his Will, and hangeth great *Weights* vpon small *Wyres*) there fell out a trifling and vntoward Accident, that drew on great and happie effects. During the *Truce* with *Scotland*, there were certaine *Scottish* young *Gentlemen*, that came into *Norham Towne*, and there made merrie with some of the *English* of the *Towne*. And hauing little to doe, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking vpon the *Castle*. Some of the *Garrison* of the *Castle*, obseruing this their doing twice or thrice, and hauing not their minds purged of the late ill bloud of *Hostilitie*, either suspected them, or quarled them for *Spies*. Whereupon they fell at ill *Words*, and from *Words* to *Blowes*; so that many were wounded of either side, and the *Scottish-men* (beeing
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strangers in the *Towne*) had the worst; In so much as some of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the *Wardens* of the *Marches* of both sides, and no good order taken. The King of Scotland tooke it to himselfe, and being much kindled, sent a *Herald* to the King to make protestation; That if Reparation were not done, according to the Conditions of the *Truce*, his King did denounce *Warre*. The King (who had often tryed *Fortune*, and was inclined to *Peace*) made answer; That what had been done, was vtterly against his will, and without his *Prinlie*. But if the *Garrison-Souldiers* had been in fault, he would see them punished, and the *Truce* in all points to bee preferued. But this answer seemed to the *Scottish* King but a Delay, to make the Complaint breath out with time; and therefore it did rather exasperate him, then satisfie him. *Bishop Fox*, vnderstanding from the King, that the *Scottish* King was still discontent and impatient, being troubled that the occasion of breaking of the *Truce* should grow from his men, sent many humble, and deprecatorie letters to the *Scottish* King, to appease him. Whereupon King IAMES mollified by the *Bishops* submisse and eloquent Letters, wrote back vnto him; That though he were in part moued by his Letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied, except hee spake with him; as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters, that might concerne the good of both *Kingdomes*. The *Bishop* aduising first with the King, tooke his Iourney for Scotland. The meeting was at *Melrosse*, an *Abbey* of the *Cestersians*, where the King then abode. The King first roundly vttered vnto the *Bishop* his offence conceiued, for the insolent Breach of *Truce*, by his men of *Norham Castle*. Whereunto *Bishop Fox*, made such an humble and smooth answer, as it was like *Oyle* into the

the wound, whereby it began to heale. And this was done in the presence of the King and his *Counsell*. After, the King spake with the *Bishop* apart, and opened himselfe vnto him, saying; That these temporarie *Truces* and *Peaces* were soone made, and soone broken: But that hee desired a straiter *Amitie* with the King of *England*, discouering his mind; that if the King would giue him in *Marriage*, the *Ladie* MARGARET, his eldest *Daughter*, That indeed might bee a *Knot* indissoluble. That hee knew well what Place and *Authoritie* the *Bishop* deservedly had with his *Master*. Therefore, if hee would take the businesse to heart, and deale in it effectually, hee doubted not but it would succeed well. The *Bishop* answered soberly, that hee thought himselfe rather happie, then worthy, to bee an *Instrument* in such a matter; but would doe his best endcauour. Wherefore the *Bishop* returning to the King, and giuing account what had passed, and finding the King more then well disposed in it, gaue the King aduise; first to proceed to a *Conclusion* of *Peace*, and then to goe on with the *Treatie* of *Marriage*, by degrees. Hereupon a *Peace* was concluded, which was published a little before *Christmasse*, in the Fourteenth yeare of the Kings *Raigne*, to continue for both the Kings liues, and the ouer-liuer of them, and a yeare after. In this *Peace* there was an *Article* contayned, that no *English-man* should enter into *Scotland*, and no *Scottish-man* into *England*, without *Letters Commendatorie* from the Kings of cyther *Nation*. This at the first sight might seeme a meanes to continue a strangenessse betweene the *Nations*; but it was done, to locke in the *Borderers*.

This yeare there was also borne to the King a third *Sonne*, who was christned by the name of EDMUND, and shortly after dyed. And much about the same time came newes of the death of *Charles* the *French-King*;

King; For whom there were celebrated Solemne and Princely Obsequies.

It was not long, but PERKIN (who was made of *Quick-silver*, which is hard to hold or imprison) began to stirre. For deceiuing his *Keepers*, hee tooke him to his heeles, and made speed to the *Sea-coasts*. But presently all Corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was faine to turne backe, and get him to the House of *Bethleem*, called the *Priorie of Shyne*, (which had the priuiledge of *Sanctuarie*) and put himselfe into the hands of the *Prior* of that *Monasterie*. The *Prior* was thought an *Holy Man*, and much reuerenced in those dayes. He came to the King, and besought the King for PERKINs life only, leauing him otherwise to the Kings discretion. Many about the King were againe more hotte then euer, to haue the King to take him forth, and hang him. But the King (that had an high stomacke, and could not hate any that hee despised) bid, *Take him forth, and set the Knaue in the Stockes*. And so promising the *Prior* his life, hee caused him to bee brought forth. And within two or three dayes after, vpon a *Scaffold* set vp in the *Palace-Court at Westminster*, hee was fettered and set in the *Stockes*, for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the *Crosse in Cheape-side*, and in both Places hee read his *Confession*, of which we made mention before; and was from *Cheape-side* conueighed and layed vp in the *Tower*. Notwithstanding all this, the King was (as was partly touched before) growne to bee such a *Partner* with *Fortune*, as no body could tell what *Actions* the *One*, and what the *Other* owned. For it was belieued generally, that PERKIN was betrayed, and that this Escape was not without the Kings priuie, who had him all the time of his Flight in a *Line*; and that the King did this, to picke a *Quatrell* to him to put him to death, and to be ridde
of

of him at once. But this is not probable. For that the same *Instruments* who obserued him in his *Flight*, might haue kept him from getting into *Sanctuarie*.

But it was ordained, that this *Winding-luie* of a PLANTAGENET, should kill the true *Tree* it selfe. For PERKIN, after hee had beene a while in the *Tower*, began to insinuate himselfe into the fauour and kindnesse of his *Keepers*, Seruants to the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* Sir IOHN DIGBIE, being foure in number; STRANGWAIES, BLEWET, ASTWOOD, and LONG-ROGER. These *Varlets*, with mountaines of *Promises*, hee sought to corrupt, to obtaine his *Escape*. But knowing well, that his owne *Fortunes* were made so contemptible, as hee could feede no mans *Hopes* (and by *Hopes* hee must worke, for *Rewards* he had none) he had contriued with himselfe a vast and tragicall Plot; which was, to draw into his Companie EDWARD PLANTAGENET Earle of *Warwicke*, then Prisoner in the *Tower*; whom the wearie life of a long *Imprisonment*, and the often and renewing Feares of being put to *Death*, had softened to take any Impression of *Counsell* for his *Libertie*. This yong *Prince* hee thought these Seruants would looke vpon, though not vpon himselfe. And therefore after that by some *Message* by one or two of them, hee had tasted of the *Earles* Consent; it was agreed, that these foure should murder their *Master* the *Lieutenant*, secretly in the night, & make their best of such Money and portable goods of his, as they should finde readie at hand, and get the *Keyes* of the *Tower*, and presently let forth PERKIN and the *Earle*. But this *Conspiracie* was reuealed in time, before it could bee executed. And in this againe the Opinion of the Kings great *Wisedome* did surcharge him with a sinister *Fame*, that PERKIN was but his *Bait*, to entrap the *Earle* of *Warwicke*. And in the very Instant while

this *Conspiracie* was in working (as if that also had been the Kings industry) it was fatall, that there should breake forth a *Counterfeit Earle of Warwicke*, a *Cordwainers Sonne*, whose name was RALPH WILFORD; a young man, taught and set on by an *Augustine Friar*, called PATRICK. They both from the parts of *Suffolke*, came forwards into *Kent*, where they did not onely priuily and vnderhand giue out, that this WILFORD was the true *Earle of Warwicke*, but also the *Friar* finding some light Credence in the People, tooke the boldnesse in the *Pulpit* to declare as much, and to incite the People to come into his Aide. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young *Fellow* executed, and the *Friar* condemned to perpetuall *Imprisonment*. This also hapning so opportunely, to represent the danger to the Kings Estate, from the *Earle of Warwicke*, and thereby to colour the Kings seueritie that followed, together with the madnesse of the *Friar*, so vainely and desperately to divulge a *Treason*, before it had gotten any manner of strength; and the sauing of the *Friars* life, which neuerthelesse was (indeed) but the priuiledge of his *Order*; and the *Pitie* in the Common People (which if it runne in a strong *Streame*, doth cuer cast vp *Scandall* and *Enuie*) made it generally rather talked, then believed, that all was but the Kings deuise. But howsoeuer it were, hereupon PERKIN (that had offended against *Grace* now the third time) was at the last proceeded with, and by *Commissioners of Oyer and Determiner*, arraigned at *Westminster*, vpon diuers *Treasons* committed and perpetrated after his comming on land within this Kingdome (for so the *Iudges* aduised, for that he was a *Forreiner*) and condemned, and a few dayes after executed at *Tiburne*. Where hee did againe openly read his *Confession*, and take it vpon his *Death* to bee true. This was the end of this little *Cockatrice* of

of a King, that was able to destroy those that did not espie him first. It was one of the longest *Plaies* of that kind, that hath been in memorie; and might perhaps haue had another end, if hee had not met with a King both wise, stout, and fortunate.

As for PERKINS three *Counsellors*, they had registered themselues *Sanctuaris-men* when their Master did. And whether vpon pardon obtained, or continuance within the *Priniledge*, they came not to bee proceeded with.

There was executed with PERKIN the Maior of *Corke*, and his Sonne, who had beene principall Abettors of his Treasons. And soone after were likewise condemned eight other Persons, about the *Tower-Conspiracie*, whereof foure were the *Lieutenants* men. But of those Eight but two were executed. And immediatly after was arraigned before the Earle of *Oxford* (then for the time *High-Steward* of England) the poore Prince the Earle of *Warwicke*; not for the Attempt to escape simply (for that was not acted; And besides, the Imprisonment not beeing for Treason, the Escape by Law could not bee Treason) But for conspiring with PERKIN to raise sedition, and to destroy the King. And the Earle confessing the *Inditement* had Iudgement, and was shortly after beheaded on *Tower-hill*.

This was also the end not onely of this Noble and Commiserable Person EDWARD the Earle of *Warwicke*, eldest Sonne to the Duke of *Clarence*, but likewise of the Line Male of the PLANTAGENETS, which had flourished in great Royalty, and Renowne from the time of the famous King of England King HENRIE the Second. Howbeit it was a Race often dipped in their owne *Bloud*. It hath remayned since onely transplanted into other Names, as well of the *Imperiall Line*, as of other Noble Houses. But it was

neither guilt of *Crime*, nor reason of *State*, that could quench the *Enuie* that was vpon the King for this *Execution*. So that hee thought good to export it out of the Land, and to lay it vpon his new *Allie FERDINAND O* King of *Spaine*. For these two Kings vnderstanding one another at halfe a word, so it was that there were Letters shewed out of *Spaine*, whereby in the passages concerning the *Treatie* of the *Marriage*, *FERDINAND O* had written to the King in plaine termes, that hee saw no assurance of his *Succeſſion*, as long as the *Earle of Warwicke* liued; and that hee was loth to send his *Daughter* to Troubles and dangers. But hereby, as the King did in some part remooue the *Enuie* from himſelfe; so hee did not obserue, that hee did with all bring a kind of *Malediction* and *Infauſting* vpon the *Marriage*, as an ill *Prognosticke*. Which in euent ſo farre prooued true, as both *Prince ARTHVR* enioyed a very ſmall time after the *Marriage*, and the *Ladie KATHERIN* her ſelfe (a ſad and a religious woman) long after, when King *HENRIE* the Eight his reſolution of a *Diuorce* from her was firſt made knowne to her, vſed ſome words; *That ſhee had not offended, but it was a Iudgement of GOD, for that her former Marriage was made in bloud*; meaning that of the *Earle of Warwicke*.

This fifteenth yeare of the King there was a great *Plague*, both in *London* and in diuers parts of the *Kingdome*. Wherefore the King after often change of *Places*, (whether to auoyde the danger of the *Sickneſſe*, or to giue occaſion of an *Enteruiew* with the *Arch-Duke*, or both) ſayled ouer with his *Queene* to *Calice*. Vpon his comming thither, the *Arch-Duke* ſent an honourable *Ambaſſage* vnto him, aſwell to welcome him into thoſe parts, as to let him know, that (if it pleaſed him) he would come and doe him reuerence. But it was ſayd withall; That the King might bee pleaſed to
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appoint some place, that were out of any *Walled Towne* or *Fortresse*, for that hee had denyed the same vpon like occasion to the *French-King*. And though he said, he made a great difference betweene the two Kings, yet hee would bee loth to giue a *President*, that might make it after to be expected at his hands, by another whom he trusted lesse. The King accepted of the *Courtesie*, and admitted of his *Excuse*, and appointed the place to bee at *Saint PETERS Church* without *Calice*. But with all he did visit the *Arch-Duke* with *Ambassadors* sent from himselfe, which were the *Lord Saint Iohn*, and the *Secretarie*; vnto whom the *Arch-Duke* did the honour, as (going to *Massé* at *Saint Omers*) to set the *Lord Saint Iohn* on his right hand, and the *Secretarie* on his left, and so to ride betweene them to Church. The day appointed for the *Enteruiew*, the King went on Horse-backe some distance from *Saint PETERS Church*, to receiue the *Arch-Duke*. And vpon their approaching, the *Arch-Duke* made haste to light, and offered to hold the Kings *Stirrope* at his a-lighting; which the King would not permit, but descending from Horse-backe, they imbraced with great affection, and with-drawing into the Church to a place prepared, they had long *Conference*, not onely vpon the Confirmation of former *Treaties*, and the freeing of *Commerce*, but vpon *Crosse Marriages*, to bee had betweene the *Duke of Yorke* the Kings second Sonne, and the *Arch-Dukes* Daughter; And againe betweene *CHARLES* the *Arch-Dukes* Sonne and Heire, and *MARIE* the Kings second Daughter. But these *Blossomes* of vnripe *Marriages*, were but friendly wishes, and the *Aires* of louing *Entertainment*; though one of them came afterwards to Conclusion in *Treatie*, though not in *Effect*. But during the time that the two *Princes* conuersed and communed together in the Suburbes of *Calice*, the Demon-

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strations on both sides were passing hartty and affectionate, especially on the part of the *Arch-Duke*. Who (besides that hee was a *Prince* of an excellent good nature) being conscious to himselfe, how driely the King had beene vsed by his *Councell* in the matter of *PERKIN*, did striue by all meanes to recouer it in the Kings Affection. And hauing also his eares continually beaten with the Councels of his *Father* and *Father-in-law*, who (in respect of their iealous hatred against the *French King*) did alwayes aduise the *Arch-Duke* to anchor himselfe vpon the Amicie of King *HENRIE* of *England*; was glad vpon this occasion, to put in vre and practice their precepts, calling the King *Patron*, and *Father* and *Protector*. (These verie words the King repeates, when he certified of the louing behauour of the *Arch-Duke* to the Citie) and what else he could deuise, to expresse his loue and obseruance to the King. There came also to the King the *Gouernour* of *Picardie*, and the *Bailiffe* of *Amiens*, sent from *Lewis* the *French King* to doe him honour, and to giue him knowledge of his victorie and winning of the *Duchie* of *Millan*. It seemeth the King was well pleased with the honours hee receiued from those parts, while hee was at *Calice*. For hee did himselfe certifie all the *Newes* and *Occurrents* of them in euey particular, from *Calice*, to the *Maier* and *Aldermen* of *London*, which (no doubt) made no small talke in the *Citie*. For the King, though hee could not entertaine the good will of the *Citizens*, as *EDWARD* the Fourth did; yet by Affabilitie and other Princely Graces, did euer make very much of them, and apply himselfe to them.

This yeare also dyed *JOHN MORTON*, *Archbishop* of *Canterburie*, *Chancellor* of *England*, and *Cardinall*. Hee was a Wiseman, and an Eloquent, but in his nature harsh, and haughtie; much accepted by the King, but enuyed by the *Nobilitie*, and hated of the

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People. Neither was his name left out of PERKINS Proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him in amongst the Kings Casting-Counters, because hee had the Image and Superscription vpon him of the Pope, in his Honour of Cardinall. Hee wanne the King with Secrecie and Diligence, but chiefly because hee was his old Seruant in his lesse Fortunes: And also for that (in his affections) hee was not without an inveterate malice against the house of YORKE, vnder whom he had been in trouble. Hee was willing also to take Enuy from the King, more then the King was willing to put vpon him. For the King cared not for Subterfuges, but would stand Enuie, & appeare in any thing that was to his mind; which made Enuie still grow vpon him more vniuersall, but lesse daring. But in the matter of Exactions, time did after shew, that the Bishop in feeding the Kings humour, did rather temper it. Hee had been by RICHARD the third committed (as in Custodie) to the Duke of Buckingham, whom hee did secretly incite to reuolt from King RICHARD. But after the Duke was engaged, and thought the Bishop should haue been his chiefe Pilot in the Tempest, the Bishop was gotten into the Cock-boat, and fled ouer beyond Seas. But whatsoeuer else was in the Man, hee deserueth a most happy Memorie, in that hee was the Principall Meane of ioyning the two Roses. Hee died of great yeares, but of strong health and Powers.

The next yeare, which was the Sixteenth yeare of the King, and the yeare of our Lord onethousand fise hundred, was the yeare of Iubile at Rome. But Pope ALEXANDER, to saue the Hazard and charges of mens Iourneys to Rome, thought good to make ouer those Graces by Exchange, to such as would pay a conuenient Rate, seeing they could not come to fetch them. For which purpose was sent into England,

I A S P E R P O N S, a *Spaniard*, the *Popes Commissioner*, better chosen then were the *Commissioners* of *Pope LEO* afterwards imployed for *Germanie*; for hee carried the *Businesse* with great *wisedome*, and semblance of *Holinesse*. In so much as hee leuied great summes of *Money* within this *Land* to the *Popes vse*, with little or no *Scandall*. It was thought the *King* shared in the *Money*. But it appeareth by a *Letter* which *Cardinall ADRIAN*, the *Kings Pensioner*, wrote to the *King* from *Rome* some few yeares after, that this was not so. For this *Cardinall*, beeing to perswade *Pope IULIUS* on the *Kings* behalfe, to expedite the *Bull of Dispensation* for the *Marriage*, betweene *Prince HENRIE* and the *Ladie KATHERINE*, finding the *Pope* difficile in granting thereof, doth vse it as a principal *Argument* concerning the *Kings Merit* towards that *Sea*, that hee had touched none of those *Deniers*, which had beene leuied by *PONS* in *England*. But that it might the better appeare (for the satisfaction of the *Common people*) that this was *Consecrate Money*, the same *Nuncio* brought vnto the *King* a *Briefe* from the *Pope*, wherein the *King* was exhorted and summoned to come in *Person* against the *Turke*. For that the *Pope* (out of the care of an *Uniuerfall Father*) seeing almost vnder his eyes the *Successes* and *Progresses* of that great *Enemie* of the *Faith*, had had in the *Conclau*e, and with the *Assistance* of the *Ambassadors* of *forraine Princes*, diuers *Consultations* about an *Holy Warre*, and a *Generall Expedition* of *Christian Princes* against the *Turke*. Wherein it was agreed, and thought fit, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bohemians* should make a *Warre* vpon *Thracia*; The *French*, and *Spaniards* vpon *Grecia*; And that the *Pope* (willing to sacrifice himselfe in so good a *Cause*) in *Person* and in *Companie* of the *King of England*, the *Venetians*, and such other *States* as were great in maritime

ritime Power, would saile with a puissant Nanie, through the *Mediterrane* vnto *Constantinople*. And that to this end, his Holinesse had sent Nuncio's to all *Christian Princes*; As well for a *Cessation* of all Quarrels and Differences amongst themselves, as for speedie Preparations and Contributions of Forces and Treasure for this Sacred Enterprize.

To this the King, (who vnderstood well the Court of Rome) made an *Answer* rather Solemne, then Serious. Signifying,

That no Prince on Earth should bee more forward and obedient, both by his Person, and by all his possible Forces, and Fortunes, to enter into this sacred VVarre, then himselfe. But that the distance of Place was such, as no Forces that hee should raise for the Seas, could be leuied or prepared, but with double the charge, and double the time (at the least) that they might bee from the other Princes, that had their Territories nearer adioyning. Besides, that neither the manner of his Ships (hauing no Gallies) nor the Experience of his Pilots and Mariners could bee so apt for those Seas, as theirs. And therefore that his Holinesse might doe well, to mooue one of those other Kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompanie him by Sea. Whereby both all things would bee sooner put in readinesse, and with lesse charge, and the Emulation and Diuision of Command, which

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might growe betweene those Kings of France and Spaine, if they should both ioyne in the Warre by Land vpon Grecia, might bee wisely auoided. And that for his part, hee would not bee wanting in Aides and Contribution. Yet notwithstanding, if both these Kings should refuse, rather then his Holinesse should goe alone, hee would waite vpon him, as soone as hee could bee readie. Alwayes provided, that hee might first see all Differences of the Christian Princes amongst themselves, fully laid downe and appeased (as for his owne part hee was in none) And that hee might haue some good Townes vpon the Coast in Italie put into his hands, for the Retrait and safeguard of his Men.

With this Answer IASPER PONS returned, nothing at all discontented. And yet this Declaration of the King (as superficiall as it was) gaue him that Reputation abroad, as hee was not long after elected by the Knights of the Rhodes, Protector of their Order; All things multiplying to Honour in a Prince, that had gotten such high Estimation for his Wisedome and Sufficiencie.

There were these two last yeares some proceedings against Heretiques, which was rare in this Kings Raigne, and rather by Penances, then by Fire. The King had (though hee were no good Schooleman) the Honour to conuert one of them by Dispute at Canterburie.

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This yeare also, though the King were no more haunted with *Sprites*, for that by the *Sprinkling* partly of *Blond*, and partly of *Water*, hee had chased them away; yet neuerthelesse hee had certaine *Apparitions*, that troubled him, still shewing themselves from one *Region*, which was the House of *Torke*. It came so to passe, that the *Earle* of *Suffolke*, Sonne to ELIZABETH eldest Sister to King EDWARD the fourth, by JOHN Duke of *Suffolke*, her second Husband, and Brother to JOHN *Earle* of *Lincolne*, that was slaine at *Stoke-field*, being of an hastie and Cholericke Disposition, had killed a man in his furie; whereupon the King gaue him his *Pardon*. But either willing to leaue a *Cloud* vpon him, or the better to make him feele his *Grace*, produced him openly to plead his *Pardon*. This wrought in the *Earle*, as in a haughtie stomacke it vseth to doe; for the *Ignominie* printed deeper then the *Grace*. Wherefore hee being discontent, fled secretly into *Flanders*, vnto his Aunt the *Duchesse* of *Burgundie*. The King startled at it. But being taught by Troubles, to vse faire and timely *Remedies*, wrought so with him by Messages, (The *Ladie* MARGARET also growing, by often failing in her *Alchymie*, wearie of her Experiments; and partly being a little sweetned, for that the King had not touched her name in the Confession of PERKIN) that hee came ouer againe vpon good termes, and was reconciled to the King.

In the beginning of the next yeare, beeing the seuenteenth of the King, the *Ladie* KATHARINE, fourth Daughter of FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, King and *Queene* of *Spaine*, arriued in *England*, at *Plimouth*, the second of *October*, and was married to Prince ARTHVR in *PAVLES*, the fourteenth of *November* following. The *Prince* being then about fiftene yeares of age, and the *Ladie* about eightene. The manner of her receiuing, the manner

of her Entrie into *London*, and the Celebritie of the *Marriage* were performed with great and true Magnificence, in regard of *Cost*, *Shew*, and *Order*. The chiefe man that tooke the care was *Bishop Fox*; who was not only a graue *Counsellor* for Warre or Peace, but also a good *Surueyours* of *VVorkes*, and a good *Master* of *Ceremonies*, and any thing else that was fit for the *Active* part, belonging to the seruice of *Court*, or *State* of a great King. This *Marriage* was almost seuen yeares in *Treatie*; which was in part caused by the tender yeares of the *Marriage-couple*, especially of the *Prince*. But the true reason was, that these two *Princes* being *Princes* of great *Policie* and profound *Iudgement*, stood a great time looking one vpon anothers *Fortunes*, how they would goe; knowing well that in the meane time, the verie *Treatie* it selfe gaue abroad in the *World* a Reputation of a strait Coniunction, and *Amitie* betweene them, which serued on both sides to many purposes, that their seuerall *Affaires* required, and yet they continued still free. But in the end, when the *Fortunes* of both the *Princes* did grow euerie day more and more prosperous and assured, and that looking all about them, they saw no better *Conditions*, they shut it vp.

The *Marriage Monie* the *Princesse* brought (which was turned ouer to the King by Act of *Renunciation*) was two hundred thousand *Ducats*. Whereof one hundred thousand were payable ten dayes after the *Solemnization*, and the other hundred thousand at two payments *Annually*; but part of it to be in *Iewels* and *Plate*, and a due course set downe to haue them iustly and indifferently prized. The *Ioynture* or *Aduancement* of the *Ladie*, was the third part of the *Principality* of *Wales*, and of the *Dukedome* of *Cornewall*, and of the *Earledome* of *Chester*, to be after set forth in seueraltie. And in case shee came to bee *Queene* of *England*, her *Ad-*

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uancement was left indefinite, but thus; That it should bee as great, as euer any former *Queene* of England had.

In all the *Deuises* and *Conceits* of the *Triumphs* of this *Marriage*, there was a great deale of *Astronomie*. The *Ladie* beeing resembled to *HESPERVS*, and the *Prince* to *ARCTVRVS*, and the old King *ALPHONSVS* (that was the greatest *Astronomer* of Kings, and was *Ancestor* to the *Ladie*) was brought in, to bee the *Fortune-teller* of the *Match*. And whoso-euer had those *Toyes* in *Compiling*, they were not altogether *Pedanticall*. But you may bee sure, that King *ARTHVR*, the *Britton*, and the descent of the *Ladie* *KATHERIN* from the House of *LANCASTER*, was in no wise forgotten. But (as it should seeme) it is not good to fetch *Fortunes* from the *Starres*. For this young *Prince* (that drew vpon him at that time, not onely the *Hopes* and *Affections* of his *Countrie*, but the *Eyes* and *Expectation* of *Forrainers*) after a few *Moneths*, in the beginning of *Aprill*, deceased at *Ludlow Castle*, where hee was sent to keepe his *Resiance* and *Court*, as *Prince* of *Wales*. Of this *Prince*, in respect hee died so young, and by reason of his *Fathers* manner of *Education*, that did cast no great *Lustre* vpon his *Children*, there is little particular *Memorie*. Onely thus much remayneth, that hee was very *studious* and *learned*, beyond his *yeares*, and beyond the *Custom* of great *Princes*.

There was a Doubt ripped vp in the times following, when the *Diuorce* of King *HENRIE* the Eighth from the *Ladie* *KATHERINE* did so much busie the world, whether *ARTHVR* was bedded with his *Ladie* or no, whereby that matter in fact (of *Carnall Knowledge*) might bee made part of the *Case*. And it is true, that the *Ladie* her selfe denied it, or at least her *Counsell* stood vpon it, and would not blaunch that

Ad-

Aduantage, although the *Plenitude* of the *Popes Power* of dispensing was the maine Question. And this Doubt was kept long open, in respect of the two *Queenes* that succeeded, *MARIE* and *ELIZABETH*; whose *Legitimations* were incompatible one with another, though their *Succeſſion* was settled by *Act of Parliament*. And the times that fauoured *Queene MARIES Legitimation* would haue it beliened, that there was no *Carnall Knowledge* betweene *ARTHVR* and *KATHERIN*. Not that they would seeme to derogate from the *Popes* absolute power, to dispense euen in that *Case*; but onely in point of Honour, and to make the *Case* more fauourable and smooth. And the Times that fauoured *Queene ELIZABETHS Legitimation* (which were the longer, and the latter) maintained the contrarie. So much there remayneth in *Memorie*, that it was halfe a yeares time betweene the *Creation* of *HENRY Prince of Wales*, and *Prince ARTHVRS* death; which was construed to bee, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appeare, whether the *Ladie KATHERINE* were with *Child* by *Prince ARTHVR*, or no. Againe, the *Ladie* her selfe procured a *Bull*, for the better *Corroboration* of the *Marriage*, with a Clause of (*vel forsan cognitam*) which was not in the first *Bull*. There was giuen in *Evidence* also, when the Cause of the *Diuorce* was handled, a pleasant passage, which was; That in a Morning *Prince ARTHVR*, vpon his vp-rising from Bed with her, called for drinke, which hee was not accustomed to doe, and finding the *Gentleman* of his Chamber that brought him the drinke to smile at it, and to note it; hee said merrily to him; That hee had beene in the middest of *Spaine*, which was an hot *Region*, and his *Iourney* had made him drie, and that if the other had beene in so hot a *Clime*; hee would haue beene drier then hee. Besides, the *Prince* was
vpon

vpon the point of Sixteene yeares of Age when hee died, and forward, and able in Bodie.

The *Februarie* following, HENRY Duke of Yorke was created *Prince of Wales*, and *Earle of Chester and Flint*. For the *Dukedome* of *Cornewall* deuolued to him by *Statute*. The King also beeing fast handed, and loth to part with a second *Dowrie*, but chiefly being affectionate both by his Nature, and out of Politicke Considerations to continue the Alliance with *Spaine*, preuailed with the Prince (though not without some Reluctation, such as could bee in those yeares, for hee was not twelue yeares of Age) to bee contracted with the *Princesse KATHERINE*. The secret *Providence* of GOD ordaining that *Marriage*, to bee the Occasion of great Euent and Changes.

The same yeare were the *Esponsals* of JAMES King of Scotland, with the *Ladie MARGARET*, the Kings eldest Daughter; which was done by *Proxie*, and published at *PAVLES-Crosse*, the five and twentieth of *Ianuary*, and *Te Deum* solemnly sung. But certaine it is, that the *Ioy* of the *Citie* thereupon shewed, by Ringing of *Bells*, and *Bon-fires*, and such other *Incence* of the People, was more then could be expected, in a Case of so great and fresh Enmitie betweene the Nations; especially in *London*, which was farre enough of from feeling any of the former calamities of the *Warre*. And therefore might be truly attributed to a Secret *Instinct* and *Inspiring* (which many times runneth not onely in the *Hearts* of *Princes*, but in the *Pulse* and *Veines* of *People*) touching the happinesse thereby to ensue in time to come. This *Marriage* was in *August* following consummate at *Edenborough*. The King bringing his Daughter as farre as *Colli-Weston* on the way, and then consigning her to the Attendance of the *Earle of Northumberland*; Who with
a great

a great Troupe of *Lords* and *Ladies* of Honour, brought her into *Scotland*, to the *King* her Husband.

This *Marriage* had been in *Treatie* by the space of almost three yeares, from the time that the *King* of *Scotland* did first open his mind to *Bishop Fox*. The Summe giuen in *Marriage* by the *King*, was ten thousand pounds. And the *Jointure* and *Advancement* assured by the *King* of *Scotland*, was two Thousand pounds a yeare, after *King IAMES* his Death, and one Thousand pounds a yeare in present, for the *Ladies* Allowance or Maintenance. This to bee set forth in *Lands*, of the best and most certaine Reuenue. During the *Treatie*, it is reported, that the *King* remitted the matter to his *Counsell*; And that some of the *Table* in the *Freedome* of *Counsellors* (the *King* being present) did put the *Case*; that if *God* should take the *Kings* two *Sonnes* without *Issue*, that then the *Kingdome* of *England* would fall to the *King* of *Scotland*, which might preiudice the *Monarchie* of *England*. Whereunto the *King* himselfe replied; That if that should bee, *Scotland* would bee but an *Accession* to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*, for that the *Greater* would draw the lesse. And that it was a safer *Vnion* for *England*, then that of *France*. This passed as an *Oracle*, and silenced those that mooued the *Question*.

The same yeare was fatall, aswell for *Deaths*, as *Marriages*; and that with equall temper. For the *Loyes* and *Feasts* of the two *Marriages*, were compensated with the *Mournings*, and *Funerals* of *Prince ARTHUR* (of whom we haue spoken) and of *Queene ELIZABETH*, who dyed in Child-bed in the *Tower*, and the *Child* liued not long after. There dyed also that yeare *Sir REGINOLD BRAY*, who was noted to haue had with the *King* the greatest *Freedome* of any *Counsellor*; but it was but a *Freedome*, the better to set of
Flattery.

Flatterie. Yet hee bare more then his iust part of *Ennie*, for the *Exactions*.

At this time the Kings Estate was very prosperous ; Secured by the Amitie of Scotland, strengthened by that of *Spaine*, cherished by that of *Burgundie*, all Domesticke Troubles quenched, and all Noyse of *Warre* (like a *Thunder* a farre of) going vpon *Italie*. Wherefore *Nature*, which many times is happily containd, and refrained by some Bands of *Fortune*, beganne to take place in the King ; carrying (as with a strong *Tide*) his Affections and Thoughts vnto the gathering and heaping vp of *Treasure*. And as Kings doe more easily find Instruments for their *Will* and *Humour*, then for their *Seruice* and *Honour*; He had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two Instruments, *EMPSON* and *DVDLEY*, (whom the people esteemed as his *Horse-Leeches* and *Shearers*) bold men, and carelesse of *Fame*, and that tooke *Toll* of their Masters *Grist*. *DVDLEY* was of a good Family, Eloquent, and one that could put *hatefull Businesse* into *good Language*. But *EMPSON*, that was the Sonne of a *Sine-maker*, triumphed alwayes vpon the *Deede done*, putting of all other respects whatsoeuer. These two Persons beeing *Lawyers* in *Science*, and *Prinie Counsellors* in *Authoritie*, (as the *Corruption of the best things is the worst*) turned *Law* and *Iustice* into *Woorme-wood* and *Rapine*. For first, their manner was to cause diuers *Subiects* to bee indicted of sundry Crimes, and so farre forth to proceed in forme of *Law*; But when the *Bills* were found, then presently to commit them. And neuerthelesse not to produce them in any reasonable time to their *Answer*, but to suffer them to languish long in *Prison*, and by sundry artificiall *Deuices* and *Terrours*, to extort from them great *Fines* and *Ransomes*, which they termed *Compositions* and *Mitigations*.

Neither did they (towards the end) obserue so much as the *Halfe-face* of *Iustice*, in proceeding by *Indictment*; but sent forth their *Precepts* to attache men, and conuent them before themselues, & some others, at their priuate Houses, in a *Court of Commission*, and there vsed to shuffle vp a *Summarie Proceeding* by *Examination*, without Tryall of *Iurie*; assuming to themselues there, to deale both in *Pleas* of the *Crowne*, and *Controuersies* *Ciwill*.

Then did they also vse to enthrall and charge the *Subiects* Lands with *Tenures in Capite*, by finding *False Offices*, and thereby to worke vpon them for *Wardships*, *Liueries*, *Primier Seisines*, and *Alienations*, (being the fruites of those *Tenures*) refusing vpon diuers Pretexts and Delayes, to admit men to trauesse those *False Offices*, according to the *Law*. Nay, the *Kings Wards* after they had accomplished their full Age, could not bee suffered to haue *Liuerie* of their Lands, without paying excesssiue *Fines*, farre exceeding all reasonable Rates. They did also vex men with *Informations* of *Intrusion* vpon scarce colourable *Titles*.

VWhen men were *Out-lawed* in *Personall Actions*, they would not permit them to purchase their *Charters* of *Pardon*, except they paid great and intollerable summes; standing vpon the strict Point of *Law*, which vpon *Out-lawries* giueth *Forfeiture* of *Goods*. Nay, contrarie to all *Law* and Colour, they maintained the King ought to haue the halfe of mens *Lands* and *Rents*, during the space of full two yeares, for a *Paine* in *Case* of *Out-lawrie*. They would also ruffle with *Iurors*, and inforce them to finde as they would direct, and (if they did not) Conuent them, Imprison them, and Fine them.

These and many other Courses, fitter to be buried then repeated, they had of *praying* vpon the *People*; both like *Tame Hawkes* for their Master, and like *Wild*
Hawkes

Hawkes for themselves; in so much as they grew to great Riches and Substaunce. But their principall working was vpon *Penall Lawes*, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the *Law* were possible, or impossible, in *Use*, or *Obsolete*. But raked ouer all old and new *Statutes*, though many of them were made with intention rather of *Terrour*, then of *Rigour*; hauing euer a Rabble of *Promoters*, *Questmongers*, and *Leading Iurors* at their Command, so as they could haue any thing found either for *Fact*, or *Valuation*.

There remayneth to this Day a *Report*, that the King was on a time entertayned by the *Earle of Oxford*, (that was his principall *Seruant*, both for *Warre* and *Peace*) nobly and sumptuously, at his *Castle at Henningham*. And at the Kings going away, the *Earles Seruants* stood (in a seemely manner) in their *Liuerie Coates*, with *Cognisances*, ranged on both sides, and made the King a *Lane*. The King called the *Earle* to him, and said; *My Lord, I haue heard much of your Hospitalitye, but I see it is greater then the speech. These handsome Gentlemen and reomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your Meniall Seruants.* The *Earle* smiled, and said; *It may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my Retayners, that are come to doe mee seruice at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace.* The King started a little, and said; *By my faith (my Lord) I thanke you for my good Cheare, but I may not endure to haue my Lawes broken in my sight. My Atturney must speake with you.* And it is part of the *Report*, that the *Earle* compounded for no lesse then fiftene thousand Marks. And to shew further the Kings extreme Diligence; I doe remember to haue scene long since a Booke of Accompt of *EMPSONS*, that had the Kings hand almost to euery Lease, by way of *Signing*, and was in some places *Postilled* in the

Margent with the Kings hand likewise, where was this *Remembrance*.

Item, receiued of such a one, five Markes, for a Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon doe not passe, the Monie to bee repaid; Except the Partie bee some other-ways satisfied.

And ouer against this *Memorandum* (of the Kings owne hand)

Otherwise satisfied.

Which I doe the rather mention, because it shewes in the King a *Nearenesse*, but yet with a kind of *Iustnesse*. So these little *Sands* and *Graines* of *Gold* and *Siluer* (as it seemeth) helped not a little to make vp the great *Heape* and *Banke*.

But meane while (to keepe the King awake) the *Earle of Suffolke* hauing beene too gay at *Prince ARTHURS* Marriage, and funke himselfe deepe in Debt, had yet once more a mind to be a *Knight-Errant*, and to seeke *Aduentures* in *Forraine* parts; And taking his Brother with him, fled againe into *Flanders*. That (no doubt) which gaue him Confidence, was the great *Murmur* of the *People* against the Kings *Gonernement*. And being a *Man* of a light and rash *Spirit*, hee thought euery *Vapour* would bee a *Tempest*. Neither wanted hee some *Partie* within the *Kingdome*. For the *Murmur* of *People* awakes the *Discontents* of *Nobles*, and againe, that calleth vp commonly some *Head of Sedition*. The King resorting to his wonted and tried Arts, caused *Sir ROBERT CYRSON*, *Captaine* of the *Castle at Hammes* (being at that time beyond Sea, and therefore lesse likely to be wrought vpon by the King) to flie from his *Charge*, and to faine himselfe a seruant of the

the Earles. This Knight, hauing insinuated himselfe into the Secrets of the Earle, and finding by him vpon whom chiefly hee had either *Hope* or *Hold*, aduertised the King thereof in great secrecie. But neuerthelesse maintained his owne Credit and inward trust with the Earle. Vpon whose Aduertisements, the King attached WILLIAM COURTNEY, Earle of *Deuonshire*, his Brother-in-Lawe, married to the Ladie KATHERINE, daughter to King EDWARD the Fourth; WILLIAM DE-LA-POLE, Brother to the Earle of *Suffolke*; SIR JAMES TIRREL, and SIR JOHN WINDHAM, and some other meaner Persons, and committed them to Custodie. GEORGE, Lord ABERGAVENNIE, and SIR THOMAS GREENE, were at the same time apprehended; but as vpon lesse Suspition, so in a freer Restraint, and were soone after deliured. The Earle of *Deuonshire*, being interessed in the bloud of *Yorke*, that was rather Feared then *No-cent*; yet as One, that might bee the *Obiect* of others *Plots* and *Designes*, remained Prisoner in the *Tower*, during the Kings life. WILLIAM DE-LA-POLE, was also long restrained, though not so straitly. But for SIR JAMES TIRREL (against whom the *Bloud* of the *Innocent Princes*, EDWARD the Fifth, and his Brother, did still crie from vnder the *Altar*) and SIR JOHN WINDHAM, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; The two Knights beheaded. Neuerthelesse, to confirme the Credit of CURSON (who belike had not yet done all his *Feates* of *Actiuitie*) there was published at PAVLES Crosse, about the time of the said Executions, the Popes Bull of *Excommunication* and *Curse*, against the Earle of *Suffolke*, and SIR ROBERT CURSON, & some others by name, and likewise in generall against all the *Abettors* of the said Earle. Wherein it must bee confessed, that *Heauen* was made too much to bow to *Earth*, and *Religion*

igion to Policie. But soone after, CURSON (when hee saw time) returned into *England*, and withall into wonted *Favour* with the King, but worse *Fame* with the *People*. Vpon whose returne the *Earle* was much dismayed, and seeing himselfe destitute of hopes (the *Ladie MARGARET* also by tract of *Time*, and bad *Successe*, being now become coole in those Attempts) after some wandering in *France*, and *Germanie*, and certaine little *Projects*, no better then *Squibbs* of an *Exiled-man*, being tired out, retired againe into the Protection of the *Arch-Duke PHILIP* in *Flanders*, who by the death of *ISABELLA* was at that time King of *Castile*, in the right of *IOAN* his Wife.

This yeare (beeing the Nineteenth of his Raigne) the King called his *Parliament*. Wherein a man may easily guesse, how absolute the King tooke himselfe to bee with his *Parliament*, when *DVDLEY* that was so hatetull, was made *Speaker* of the *House of Commons*. In this *Parliament*, there were not made any *Statutes* memorable, touching publike *Gouvernement*. But those that were, had still the *Stampe* of the Kings *Wisedome* and *Policie*.

There was a *Statute* made for the disanulling of all *Patents* of *Lease*, or *Grant*, to such as came not vpon lawfull *Summons* to serue the King in his *Warres*, against the *Enemies* or *Rebels*, or that should depart without the Kings license; With an Exception of certaine Persons of the *Long-robe*. Prouiding neuertheless, That they should haue the Kings *Wages*, from their *House*, till their *Returne* home againe. There had beene the like made before for *Offices*, and by this *Statute* it was extended to *Lands*. But a man may easily see by many *Statutes* made in this Kings time, that the King thought it safest, to assist *Martiall Law*, by *Law* of *Parliament*.

Another *Statute* was made, prohibiting the bringing

ing in of *Manufactures* of *Silke* wrought by it selfe, or mixt with any other *Thred*. But it was not of *Stuffes* of whole piece (for that the Realme had of them no *Manufacture* in vse at that time) but of *Knit-Silke*, or *Texture* of *Silke*; as *Ribbands*, *Laces*, *Caules*, *Points*, and *Girdles*, &c. which the People of *England* could then well skill to make. This *Law* pointed at a true *Principle*; That where *forraine materials* are but *Superfluties*; *forraine Manufactures* should bee prohibited. For that will either banish the *Superflutie*, or gaine the *Manufacture*.

There was a *Law* also of *Resumption* of *Patents* of *Gaoles*, and the *Reannexing* of them to the *Sherifwicks*; *Priviledged Officers* beeing no lesse an *Interruption* of *Iustice*, then *Priviledged Places*.

There was likewise a *Law* to restrain the *By-lawes* or *Ordinances* of *Corporations*, which many times were against the *Prerogatiue* of the King, the *Common-law* of the Realme, and the *Libertie* of the *Subiect*, beeing *Fraternities* in Euill. It was therefore *Provided*, that they should not bee put in *Execution*, without the Allowance of the *Chancellor*, *Treasurer*, and the two *Chiefe-Iustices*, or three of them, or of the two *Iustices* of *Circuit* where the *Corporation* was.

Another *Law* was (in effect) to bring in the *Siluer* of the Realme to the *Mint*, in making all clipped, minished, or impaired *Coines* of *Siluer*, not to bee current in payments; without giuing any *Remedie* of weight, but with an exception onely of reasonable wearing, which was as nothing in respect of the incertaintie; and so (vpon the matter) to set the *Mint* on worke, and to giue way to *New Coines* of *Siluer*, which should bee then minted.

There likewise was a long *Statute* against *Vagabonds*, wherein two things may bee noted; The one, the *Dislike* the *Parliament* had of *Gaoeling* of them, as that

that which was chargeable, pesterous, and of no open Example. The other, That in the *Statutes* of this Kings time, (for this of the Nineteenth yeare is not the onely *Statute* of that kind) there are euer coupled, the *Punishment* of *Vagabonds*, and the *Forbidding* of *Dice*, and *Cards*, and vnlawfull *Games* vnto Seruants and meane people, and the putting downe and suppressing of *Ale-houses*, as *Strings* of one *Roote* together, and as if the One were vnprofitable, without the Other.

As for *Riot* and *Retainers*, there passed scarce any *Parliament* in this time without a *Law* against them; The King euer hauing an Eye to *Might*; and *Multitude*.

There was granted also that *Parliament* a *Subsidie*, both from the *Temporalitie* and the *Clergie*. And yet neuerthelesse, ere the yeare expired, there went out *Commissions* for a generall *Beneuolence*, though there were no *Warres*; no *Feares*. The same yeare the *Citie* gaue five thousand Markes, for *Confirmation* of their *Liberties*; A thing fitter for the *Beginnings* of Kings *Raignes*, then the latter Ends. Neither was it a small matter, that the *Mint* gained vpon the late *Statute*, by the *Recoinage* of *Groats* and *Halfe-groats*, now *Twelue-pences* and *Six-pences*. As for *EMPSON* and *DVDLEY's Mills*, they did grinde more then euer. So that it was a strange thing, to see what *Golden Showres* powred downe vpon the Kings *Treasurie* at once. The last payments of the *Marriage-money* from *Spaine*; The *Subsidie*; The *Beneuolence*; The *Recoinage*; The *Redemption* of the *Cities Liberties*; The *Casualties*. And this is the more to bee marueiled at, because the King had then no Occasions at all of *Warres* or *Troubles*. Hee had now but one *Sonne*, and one *Daughter* vnbestowed. Hee was *Wise*; Hee was of an *High Mind*; Hee needed not to make *Riches* his *Glorie*. Hee did

did excell in so many things else ; saue that certainly *Auarice* doth euer finde in it selfe matter of *Ambition*. Belike hee thought to leaue his Sonne such a *Kingdome*, and such a *Masse* of *Treasure* , as hee might choose his *Greatnesse* where he would.

This yeare was also kept the *Seriants Feast*, which was the second *Call* in this Kings *Dayes*.

About this time ISABELLA, *Queene* of *Castile* deceased; a right Noble *Ladie*, and an Honour to her *Sexe*, and *Times*, and the *Corner-stone* of the *Greatnesse* of *Spaine*, that hath followed. This Accident the King tooke not for *Newes* at large , but thought it had a great *Relation* to his owne *Affaires* ; especially in two points. The One, for *Example*; the Other for *Consequence*. First, he conceiued that the *Case* of FERDINANDO of *Arragon* after the death of *Queene* ISABELLA was his owne *Case*, after the death of his owne *Queene*: and the *Case* of IOAN the *Heire* vnto *Castile* , was the *Case* of his owne Sonne *Prince* HENRY. For if both of the Kings had their *Kingdomes* in the right of their *Wines*, they descended to the *Heires* , and did not accrew to the *Husbands*. And although his owne *Case* had both *Steele* and *Parchment* , more then the other (that is to say, a *Conquest* in the *Field* , and an *Act* of *Parliament*) yet notwithstanding, that *Naturall Title* of *Descent* in *Bloud*, did (in the imagination euen of a *Wise-man*) breed a *Doubt* , that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderfull diligent, to inquire and obserue what became of the King of *Arragon*, in holding and continuing the *Kingdome* of *Castile*. And whether he did hold it in his owne *Right*, or as *Administrator* to his *Daughter*; And whether he were like to hold it in *Fact* , or to bee put out by his *Sonne-in-Law*. Secondly, he did reuolue in his minde, that the *State* of *Christendome* might by this late Accident haue a turne. For whereas before time Himselfe, with

the Coniunction of *Arragon* and *Castile* (which then was one) and the Amitie of MAXIMILIAN and PHILIP his Sonne the *Arch-Duke*, was farre too strong a *Partie* for *France*; hee beganne to feare, that now the *French King* (who had great *Interest* in the Affections of PHILIP the young King of *Castile*) and PHILIP himselfe, now King of *Castile*, (who was in ill Termes with his *Father-in-law* about the present *Gouernment* of *Castile*) And thirdly, MAXIMILIAN, PHILIPS *Father* (who was cuer variable, and vpon whom the surest Aime that could be taken, was that hee would not be long, as hee had beene last before) would, all three being potent *Princes*, enter into some strait *League* and *Confederation* amongst themselves. Whereby though hee should not be endangered, yet hee should be left to the poore Amitie of *Arragon*. And whereas hee had beene heretofore a kind of *Arbiter* of *Europe*, he should now goe lesse, and be ouer-topped by so great a *Coniunction*. Hee had also (as it seemes) an inclination to marrie, and bethought himselfe of some fit Conditions abroad. And amongst others, he had heard of the *Beautie* and vertuous *Behaviour* of the young *Queene* of *Naples*, the Widdow of FERDINANDO the younger, being then of *Matronall* yeares of seuen and twentie. By whose *Marriage* he thought that the Kingdome of *Naples* (hauing beene a *Gole* for a time betweene the King of *Arragon*, and the *French King*, and being but newly settled) might in some part be deposited in his hands, who was so able to keepe the *Stakes*. Therefore hee sent in *Ambassage* or *Message* three Confident Persons; FRANCIS MARSIN, JAMES BRAY-BROOKE, and IONH STILE, vpon two seuerall *Inquisitions*, rather then *Negotiations*. The One, touching the Person and Condition of the young *Queene* of *Naples*. The Other touching all particulars of *Estate*, that concerned the

the *Fortunes* and *Intenſions* of FERDINANDO. And becauſe they may obſerue beſt, who themſelues are obſerued leaſt, he ſent them vnder *Colourable Pretexts*; giuing them Letters of Kindneſſe and Complement from KATHERINE the *Princeſſe*, to her Aunt, and Neece, the Olde and Young Queene of Naples, and deliuering to them alſo a *Booke* of new *Articles* of Peace; which notwithstanding it had beene deliuered vnto Doctor de PUEBLA, the *Leigier Ambaſſadour* of Spaine here in England to be ſent; yet for that the King had beene long without hearing from Spaine, hee thought good thoſe *Meffengers*, when they had beene with the two Queenes, ſhould likewiſe paſſe on to the Court of FERDINANDO, and take a Copie of the *Booke* with them. The *Inſtructions* touching the Queene of Naples were ſo curious and exquisite, being as *Articles* whereby to direct a *Suruey*, or framing a *Particular* of her *Perſon*, for Complexion, Fauour, Feature, Stature, Health, Age, Cuſtomes, Behaviour, Conditions, and Eſtate, as if the King had beene young, a Man would haue iudged him to bee *Amorous*; but being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that ſure he was verie *Chaſte*, for that hee meant to finde all things in one Woman, and ſo to ſettle his *Affections*, without ranging. But in this *Match* hee was ſoone cooled, when he heard from his *Ambaſſadors*, that this young Queene had had a goodly *Ioynture* in the Realme of Naples, well answered during the time of her Vnckle FREDERICKE, yea, and during the time of LEWIS the *French King*, in whoſe *Diuiſion* her Reuenue fell; But ſince the time that the Kingdome was in FERDINANDO's hands, all was aſſigned to the *Armie*, and *Gariſons* there, and Shee receiued only a *Penſion* or *Exhibition* out of his Coſers.

The other part of the *Inquirie* had a graue and di-

ligent Returne, informing the King at full of the present State of King FERDINANDO. By this report it appeared to the King, that FERDINANDO did continue the Gouvernement of *Castile* as *Administratour* vnto his Daughter IOAN, by the Title of Queene ISABELLA'S Will, and partly by the Custome of the *Kingdome*, as he pretended. And that all *Mandates* and *Grants* were expedited in the name of IOAN his Daughter, and himselfe as *Administrator*, without mention of PHILIP, her Husband. And that King FERDINANDO, howsoever hee did dismisse himselfe of the Name of King of *Castile*, yet meant to hold the *Kingdome*, without Accompt, and in absolute Command.

It appeareth also, that hee flattered himselfe with hopes, that King PHILIP would permit vnto him the Gouvernement of *Castile* during his life; which hee had layed his plot to worke him vnto, both by some *Councillors* of his about him, which FERDINANDO had at his deuotion, and chiefly by Promise, that in case PHILIP gaue not way vnto it, hee would marrie some young *Ladie*, whereby to put him by the *Succession* of *Arragon* and *Granada*, in case hee should haue a Sonne. And lastly, by representing vnto him that the Gouvernement of the *Burgundians*, till PHILIP were by continuance in *Spaine* made as Naturall of *Spaine*, would not bee indured by the *Spaniards*. But in all those things (though wisely layed downe and considered) FERDINANDO failed; But that PLUTO was better to him, then PALLAS.

In the same Report also, the *Ambassadours* beeing meane men, and therefore the more free, did strike vpon a String which was somewhat dangerous. For they declared plainly, that the People of *Spaine*, both *Nobles* and *Commons*, were better affected vnto the part of PHILIP (so hee brought his wife with him) then

then to FERDINANDO; And expressed the reason to bee, because hee had imposed vpon them many *Taxes*, and *Tallages*, which was the Kings owne Calf betweene him and his Sonne.

There was also in this Report a Declaration of an *Ouerture of Marriage*, which AMASON the *Secretarie* of FERDINANDO had made vnto the *Ambassadors* in great secret, betweene CHARLES Prince of *Castile*, and MARIE the Kings second Daughter; assuring the King, that the *Treatie of Marriage* then on foot, for the said Prince and the Daughter of France, would breake; and that shee the said Daughter of France should bee married to ANGOLESME, that was the *Heire apparant* of France.

There was a touch also of a speach of *Marriage* betweene FERDINANDO and Madame de FOIS, a *Ladie* of the *Blond* of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as learned in France, and silenced in Spaine.

The King by the returne of this *Ambassage*, which gaue great light vnto his *Affaires*, was well instructed, and prepared how to carrie himselfe betweene FERDINANDO King of Arragon, and PHILIP his *Sonne-in-law*, King of *Castile*; resolving with himselfe, to doe all that in him lay to keepe them at one within themselues; But howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate Carriage and bearing the Person of a *Common-friend*, to loose neither of their Friendships; but yet to runne a *Course* more entire with the King of Arragon, but more laboured and officious with the King of *Castile*. But hee was much taken with the *Ouerture of Marriage* with his Daughter MARIE; Both because it was the greatest *Marriage* of *Christendome*, and for that it tooke hold of both *Allies*.

But to corroborate his *Alliance* with PHILIP, the Windes gaue him an Enter-view. For PHILIP choo-

choosing the *Winter-Season*, the better to surprize the King of *Arragon*, set forth with a great Nauie out of *Flanders* for *Spaine*, in the Moneth of *Ianuarie*, the one and Twentieth yeare of the Kings Raigne. But himselfe was surpris'd with a cruell *Tempest*, that scattered his Ships vpon the severall Coasts of *England*. And the Ship wherein the King and *Queene* were (with two other small *Barkes* onely) torne, and in great perill to escape the Furie of the weather, thrust into *Waymouth*. King PHILIP himselfe, hauing not beene vsed (as it seemes) to Sea, all wearied and extreame sicke, would needes land to refresh his Spirits, though it was against the Opinion of his *Counsell*, doubting it might breed *Delaie*, his Occasions requiring *Celeritie*.

The Rumour of the Arriual of a puissant Nauie vpon the Coast, made the Countrie Arme. And Sir THOMAS TRENCHARD with Forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter might bee, came to *Waymouth*. Where vnderstanding the Accident, hee did in all Humblenesse and Humanitie inuite the King and *Queene* to his House; and forthwith dispatched *Posts* to the Court. Soone after came Sir IOHN CAROE likewise, with a great troupe of Men well armed; vsing the like Humblenesse and Respects towards the King, when hee knew the Case. King PHILIP doubting that they, being but *Subiects*, durst not let him passe away againe, without the Kings Notice and Leaue, yeilded to their Entreaties to staie, till they heard from the Court. The King as soone as hee heard the *Newes*, commanded presently the Earle of *Arundell*, to goe to visite the King of *Castile*, and let him vnderstand; That as hee was verie sorrie for his Mishap, so hee was glad that hee had escaped the Danger of the Seas, and likewise of the Occasion himselfe had to doe him Honour; and desiring

desiring him, to thinke himselfe as in his owne Land; and that the King made all hast possible to come and imbrace him. The Earle came to him in great Magnificence, with a braue Troupe of three hundred Horse; and (for more State) came by Torch-Light. After hee had done the Kings Message, King PHILIP seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, went vpon speed to the King at *Windsore*, and his Queene followed by easie iourneyes. The two Kings at their meeting vsed all the *Caresses*, and louing Demonstrations, that were possible. And the King of Castile said pleasantly to the King; *That hee was now punished, for that hee would not come within his walled Towne of Calice, when they met last.* But the King answered; *That Walles and Seas were nothing, where Hearts were open; and that hee was heere no otherwise, but to bee serued.* After a Day or two's refreshing, the Kings entred into speach of renewing the *Treatie*; The King saying, That though King PHILIPs Person were the same, yet his *Fortunes* and *State* were raised. In which Case a Renouation of *Treatie* was vsed amongst *Princes*. But while these things were in handling, the King choosng a fit time, and drawing the King of Castile into a Roome, where they two onely were priuate, and laying his hand ciuilly vpon his arme, and changing his Countenance a little from a Countenance of *Intertainment*, said to him; *Sir, you haue beene saued vpon my Coast, I hope you will not suffer mee to wracke vpon yours.* The King of Castile asked him, *what hee meant by that speach?* I meane it (saith the King) *by that same Harebraine wild Fellow, my subiect, the Earle of Suffolke, who is protected in your Countrie, and begins to play the Foole, when all others are wearie of it.* The King of Castile answered; *I had thought (Sir) your Felicitie had beene about those thoughts.* But if it trouble you, I will banish him. The King replied; *Those*
Hornets

Hornets were best in their Nest, and worst then when they did flie abroad, and that his desire was, to haue him deliuered to him. The King of Castile herewith a little confused, and in a studie, said; That can I not doe with my honour, and lesse with yours; for you will bee thought to haue vsed mee as a Prisoner. The King presently said; Then the matter is at an end. For I will take that dishonour vpon mee, and so your honour is saued. The King of Castile, who had the King in great Estimation, and besides remembred where hee was, and knew not what vse hee might haue of the Kings Amitie, for that himselfe was new in his Estate of Spaine, and vnsettled both with his Father-in-Law, and with his People, composing his Countenance, said; Sir, you giue Law to mee; but so will I to you. You shall haue him, but (vpon your honour) you shall not take his Life. The King embracing him, said; Agreed. Saith the King of Castile; Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion, as hee may partly come with his owne good will. The King said; It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, hee would ioyne with him, in sending to the Earle a Message to that purpose. They both sent seuerally, and meane while they continued Feasting and Pastimes. The King being (on his part) willing to haue the Earle sure before the King of Castile went; and the King of Castile being as willing to seeme to bee enforced. The King also with many wise and excellent Perswasions, did aduise the King of Castile, to bee ruled by the Counsell of his Father-in-Law FERDINANDO; a Prince so prudent, so experienced, so fortunate. The King of Castile (who was in no verie good termes with his said Father-in-Law) answered; That if his Father-in-Law would suffer him to gouerne his Kingdomes, hee should gouerne him.

There were immediately Messengers sent from both Kings, to recall the Earle of Suffolke: Who
vpon

vpon gentle wordes vsed to him was soone charmed, and willing enough to returne; assured of his *Life*, and hoping of his *Libertie*. Hee was brought through *Flanders* to *Calice*, and thence landed at *Douer*, and with sufficient *Guard* deliuered and receiued at the *Tower of London*. Meane while King HENRY (to draw out the time) continued his *Feastings* and *Entertainments*, and after hee had receiued the King of *Castile* into the *Fraternitie* of the *Garther*, and for a *Reciprocall* had his Sonne the *Prince* admitted to the *Order* of the *Golden-Fleece*, hee accompanied King PHILIP and his *Queene* to the *Citie of London*; where they were entertained with the greatest *Magnificence* and *Triumph*, that could bee vpon no greater warning. And as soone as the *Earle of Suffolke* had beene conueyed to the *Tower* (which was the serious part) the *lollities* had an end, and the Kings tooke leaue. Neuerthelesse during their being heere, they in Substance concluded that *Treatie*, which the *Flemings* terme *Intercursus malus*, and beares Date at *Windfore*; for that there bee some things in it, more to the Aduantage of the *English*, then of them; especially, for that the *Free-Fishing* of the *Dutch* vpon the *Coasts* and *Seas of England*, granted in the *Treatie* of *Undecimo*, was not by this *Treatie* confirmed. All *Articles* that confirme former *Treaties* beeing precisely and warily limited and confirmed to matter of *Commerce* onely, and not otherwise.

It was obserued, that the great *Tempest* which draue PHILIP into *England*, blew downe the *Golden Eagle*, from the *Spire* of *PAVLES*, and in the fall it fell vpon a *Signe* of the *Blacke Eagle*, which was in *PAVLES Church-Yard*, in the

place where the *Schoole-House* now standeth, and battered it, and brake it downe. Which was a strange *sloping* of a *Hawke* vpon a *Fowle*. This the People interpreted to bee an *Ominous Prognosticke* vpon the *Imperiall House*, which was (by *Interpretation* also) fulfilled vpon PHILIP the *Emperours Sonne*, not onely in the Present Disaster of the *Tempest*, but in that that followed. For PHILIP arriuing into *Spaine*, and attaining the Possession of the *Kingdome of Castile* without resistance, (insomuch as FERDINANDO, who had spoke so great before, was with difficultie admitted to the speech of his *Sonne-in-Law*) sickened soone after, and deceased. Yet after such time, as there was an *Obseruation* by the wisest of that *Court*, That if hee had liued, his *Father* would haue gained vpon him in that sort, as hee would haue gouerned his *Counsell*s, and *Designes*, if not his *Affections*. By this all *Spaine* returned into the power of FERDINANDO in state as it was before; the rather, in regard of the infirmitie of IOAN his Daughter, who louing her Husband (by whom shee had many Children) dearely well, and no lesse beloued of him (howsoeuer her *Father* to make PHILIP ill beloued of the People of *Spaine*, gaue out that PHILIP vsed her not well) was vnable in strength of minde to beare the Griefe of his Decease, and fell distracted of her *Wittes*. Of which *Maladie* her *Father* was thought no wayes to endeouour the *Cure*, the better to hold his *Regall Power* in *Castile*. So that as the *Felicitie* of CHARLES the Eighth was said to bee a *Dream*; so the *Aduersitie* of FERDINANDO was said likewise to bee a *Dream*, it passed ouer so soone.

About

About this time the King was desirous to bring into the House of LANCASTER *Celestiall Honour*, and became Suitor to Pope I V L I V S, to Canonize King HENRY the Sixt for a *Saint*; the rather, in respect of that his famous *Prediction* of the Kings owne Assumption to the *Crowne*. I V L I V S referred the matter (as the manner is) to certaine *Cardinals*, to take the verification of his *Holy Acts* and *Miracles*. But it died vnder the Reference. The generall Opinion was, that Pope I V L I V S was too deare, and that the King would not come to his *Rates*. But it is more probable, That that Pope (who was extremely iealous of the Dignitie of the *Sea of Rome*, and of the *Acts* thereof) knowing that King HENRY the Sixth was reputed in the world abroad but for a *Simple Man*, was afraid it would but diminish the Estimation of that kind of *Honour*, if there were not a distance kept betweene *Innocents* and *Saints*.

The same yeare likewise there proceeded a *Treatie of Marriage* betweene the King and the Ladie MARGARET *Duchesse Dowager of Sauoy*, only Daughter to MAXIMILIAN, and Sister to the King of Castile; a Ladie wise, and of great good *Fame*. This Matter had beene in speach betweene the two Kings at their meeting, but was soone after resumed; and therein was imployed for his first piece the Kings then *Chaplain*, and after the great *Prelate* THOMAS WOLSEY. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample Conditions for the King, but with promise *De Futuro* only. It may be the King was the rather induced vnto it, for that he heard more and more of the Marriage to goe on betweene his great *Friend* and *Allie* FERDINANDO of Arragon, and Madame de FOIS, whereby that King beganne to piece with the

French King, from whom hee had beene alwayes before seuered. So fatall a thing it is, for the greatest and straitest Amities of Kings, at one time or other to haue a little of the *Wheele*. Nay, there is a further *Tradition* (in *Spaine*, though not with vs) That the King of *Arragon*, after he knew that the *Marriage* betweene CHARLES, the young *Prince* of *Castile*, and MARRIE the *Kings* second Daughter went roundly on (Which though it was first mooued by the King of *ragon*, yet it was afterwards wholly aduanced and brought to perfection by MAXIMILIAN, and the Friends on that side) entred into a Iealousie, that the King did aspire to the *Gouernment* of *Castilia*, as *Administrator* during the *Minoritie* of his *Sonne-in-law*; as if there should haue beene a Competition of Three for that *Gouernment*; FERDINANDO, *Grand-father* on the Mothers side; MAXIMILIAN, *Grand-father* on the Fathers side; and King HENRIÉ, *Father-in-law* to the young *Prince*. Certainely, it is not vnlike, but the Kings *Gouernment* (carrying the young *Prince* with him) would haue beene perhaps more welcome to the *Spaniards*, then that of the other Two. For the Nobilitie of *Castilia*, that so lately put out the King of *Arragon*, in fauour of King PHILIP, and had discouered themselues so farre, could not bee but in a secret Distrust and Distaste of that King. And as for MAXIMILIAN, vpon Twentie respects hee could not haue beene the Man. But this purpose of the Kings seemeth to mee (considering the Kings safe Courses, neuer found to bee enterprizing or aduenturous) not greatly probable, except hee should haue had a Desire to breathe warmer, because hee had ill Lungs. This *Marriage* with MARGARET was protracted from time to time, in respect of the *Infirmities* of the King, who now in the two
and

and Twentieth of his Raigne beganne to bee troubled with the *Goute*. But the *Deffluxion* taking also into his Breast, waisted his *Lunges*, so that thrice in a Yeare (in a kind of Returne, and especially in the *Spring*,) hee had great Fittes and Labours of the *Tisicke*. Neuerthelesse, hee continued to intend Businesse with as great diligence, as before in his Health. Yet so, as vpon this warning, he did likewise now more seriously thinke of the World to come, and of making himselfe a *Saint*, aswell as King HENRIE the Sixth, by *Treasure* better imployed, then to bee giuen to *Pope IVLIVS*. For this Yeare hee gaue greater *Almes* then accustomed, and discharged all *Prisoners* about the *Citie*, that lay for *Fees* or *Debts* vnder fortie shillings. Hee did also make haste with Religious *Foundations*; and in the Yeare following (which was the Three and Twentieth) finished that of the *Sauoy*. And hearing also of the bitter *Cries* of his *People* against the *Oppressions* of DUDLEY and EMPSON, and their Complices; partly by Deuout Persons about him, and partly by publike *Sermons* (the *Preachers* doing their Dutie therein) Hee was touched with great Remorse for the same. Neuerthelesse, EMPSON and DUDLEY, though they could not but heare of these Scruples in the Kings Conscience; yet as if the Kings Soule and his Money were in seuerall *Offices*, that the One was not to intermeddle with the Other, went on with as great rage as euer. For the same three and Twentieth Yeare was there a sharpe Prosecution against Sir WILLIAM CAPEL now the second time; and this was for Matters of Misgouernment in his *Maioraltie*. The great Matter beeing, that in some Payments hee had taken knowledge of *False Moneyes*, and did
not

not his diligence to examine, and beate it out, who were the Offendours. For this and some other things layed to his Charge, hee was condemned to pay Two Thousand Pounds; and beeing a Man of stomacke, and hardened by his former Troubles, refused to pay a Mite; And hee like vsed some vntoward Speeches of the Proceedings, for which hee was sent to the *Tower*, and there remayned till the Kings Death. *KNESWORTH* likewise, that had beene lately *Maior* of *London*, and both his *Sheriffes*, were for Abuses in their Offices questioned, and imprisoned, and deliuered, vpon one Thousand foure hundred pounds payd. *HAWIS*, an *Alderman* of *London*, was put in Trouble, and dyed with Thought, and Anguish, before his Businesse came to an end. *Sir LAWRENCE AILMER*, who had likewise beene *Maior* of *London*, and his two *Sheriffes*, were put to the Fine of one Thousand Pounds. And *Sir LAWRENCE*, for refusing to make payment, was committed to Prison, where hee stayed till *EMPSON* himselfe was committed in his place.

It is no marueile (if the *Faults* were so light, and the *Rates* so heauie) that the Kings Treasure of store, that hee left at his death, most of it in secret places, vnder his owne Key and keeping, at *Richmond*, amounted (as by Tradition it is reported to haue done) vnto the Summe of neare Eighteene hundred thousand pounds Sterling; a huge Masse of Money, euen for these times.

The last *Act* of State that concluded this Kings Temporall Felicitie, was the Conclusion of a Glorious *Match* betweene his Daughter *MARIE*, and *CHARLES* Prince of *Castile*, afterwards the
great

great *Emperour*, both beeing of tender yeares. Which *Treatie* was perfected by *Bishop FOXE*, and other his *Commissioners* at *Calice*, the yeare before the Kings Death. In which *Alliance*, it seemeth hee himselfe tooke so high Contentment, as in a Letter which hee wrote thereupon to the *Citie of London* (commanding all possible demonstrations of ioy to bee made for the same), hee expresth himselfe, as if hee thought hee had built a *Wall of Brasse* about his Kingdome. When hee had for his *Sonnes-in-law*, a *King of Scotland*, and a *Prince of Castile and Burgundie*. So as now there was nothing to bee added to this great Kings Felicitie, beeing at the top of all worldly *Blisse*, (in regard of the high *Marriages* of his Children, his great *Renowne* throughout *Europe*, and his scarce credible *Riches*, and the perpetuall *Constancie* of his prosperous Successes) but an opportune *Death*, to withdraw him from any future blowe of *Fortune*. Which certainly (in regard of the great *Hatred* of his *People*, and the *Title* of his *Sonne*, beeing then come to Eighteene yeares of age, and beeing a bold *Prince*, and liberall, and that gayned vpon the *People* by his very *Aspect* and *Presence*) had not beene impossible to haue come vpon him.

To crowne also the last yeare of his Raigne, as well as his first, hee did an *Act* of *Pietie*, rare, and worthie to bee taken into Imitation. For hee granted toorth a *Generall Pardon*, as expecting a second *Coronation* in a better Kingdome. Hee did also declare in his *Will*, that his mind was, that *Restitution* should bee made of those *Summes*, which had beene vniustly taken by his *Officers*.

And thus this *SALOMON* of *England* (for *SALOMON* also was too heauie vpon his *People*
in

in *Exactions*) hauing liued two and fiftie yeares, and thereof raigned Three and twentie yeares, and eight Moneths, beeing in perfect *Memorie*, and in a most Blessed *Mind*, in a great *Calme* of a Consuming *Sicknesse* passed to a better World, the Two and twentieth of *April*, 1508. at his *Palace* of *Richmond*, which himselfe had built.

This

THis King (to speake of him in *Tearmes* equall to his *Deseruing*) was one of the best sort of *VVonders* ; a *VVonder* for *Wisemen*. Hee had *Parts* (both in his *Vertues*, and his *Fortune*) not so fit for a *Common-place*, as for *Obseruation*. Certainly hee was *Religious*, both in his *Affection*, and *Obseruance*. But as hee could see cleare (for those times) through *Superstition*, so hee would be blinded (now and then) by *Humane Policie*. Hee aduanced *Church-men* ; hee was tender in the *Priuiledge* of *Sanctuaries*, though they wrought him much *mischiefe*. Hee built and endowed many *Religious Foundations*, besides his *Memorable Hospitall* of the *Sauoy*. And yet was hee a great *Almes-giuer* in *secret* ; which shewed, that his *Workes* in *publique* were dedicated rather to *Gods Glorie*, then his *Owne*. Hee professed alwayes to *loue and seeke Peace*, and it was his vsuall *Preface* in his *Treaties* ; That when *CHRIST* came into the *World*, *Peace* was sung ; and when *HEE* went out of the *World*, *Peace* was bequeathed. And this *Vertue* could not proceede out of *Feare*, or *Softnesse* ; for hee was *Valiant and Actiue*, and therefore (no doubt) it was truly *Christian and Morall*. Yet hee knew the way to *Peace*, was not to seeme

to bee desirous to auoide Warres. Therefore would hee make Offers, and Fames of Warres, till hee had mended the Conditions of Peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a Louer of Peace, should bee so happy in Warre. For his Armes (either in Forraine or Ciuill VVarres) were neuer Infortunate; neither did hee know what a Disaster meant. The VVarre of his Comming in, and the Rebellions of the Earle of Lincolne, and the Lord A W D-LEY were ended by Victorie. The VVarres of France and Scotland, by Peaces sought at his hands. That of Brittain, by accident of the Dukes death. The Insurrection of the Lord LOVEL, and that of PERKIN at Excester, and in Kent, by flight of the Rebels, before they came to Blowes. So that his Fortune of Armes was still Inviolat. The rather sure, for that in the quenching of the Commotions of his Subiects, hee euer went in Person, Sometimes reseruing himselfe to backe and second his Lieutenants, but euer in Action; and yet that was not meerly Forwardnesse, but partly Distrust of others.

Hee did much maintaine and countenance his Lawes. Which (neuerthelesse) was no Impediment to him to worke his VVill. For it was so handled, that neither Prerogatiue, nor Pro-

Profit went to Diminution. And yet as hee would sometimes straine vp his Lawes to his Prerogative, so would hee also let downe his Prerogative to his Parliament. For Minte, and VVarres, and Marshall Discipline, (things of Absolute Power) he would neuertheless bring to Parliament. Iustice was well administred in his time, saue where the King was Partie: Saue also, that the Counsell-Table intermedled too much with Meum and Tuum. For it was a very Court of Iustice during his time, especially in the Beginning. But in that part both of Iustice and Policie which is the Durable Part, and cut (as it were) in Brasse or Marble (which is The making of good Lawes) hee did excell. And with his Iustice, hee was also a Mercifull Prince. As in whose time, there were but three of the Nobilitie that suffered; the Earle of VVarwicke, the Lord Chamberlaine, and the Lord AWDLEY. Though the first two were instead of Numbers, in the Dislike and Obloquie of the People. But there were neuer so great Rebellions, expiated with so little Bloud, drawne by the hand of Iustice, as the two Rebellions of Black-heath and Excester. As for the Seueritie vsed vpon those which were taken in Kent, it was but vpon a Scumme of

People. His Pardons went euer both before, and after his Sword. But then hee had with all a strange kind of Interchanging of large and unexpected Pardons, with seuerer Executions. Which (his Wisedome considered) could not bee imputed to any Inconstancie or Inequalitye, but either to some Reason which we do not now know, or to a Principle hee had set vnto himselfe, That hee would vary, and trie both wayes in turne. But the lesse Bloud hee drew, the more hee tooke of Treasure. And (as some construed it) hee was the more sparing in the One, that hee might bee the more pressing in the Other; for both would haue beene intollerable. Of Nature assuredly hee coueted to accumulate Treasure, and was a little Poore in admiring Riches. The People (into whom there is infused, for the preservation of Monarchies, a naturall Desire to discharge their Princes, though it bee with the vniust charge of their Counsellors and Ministers) did impute this vnto Cardinal MORTON, and Sir REGINALD BRAY. Who (as it after appeared) as Counsellors of ancient Authoritie with him, did so second his Humours, as neuerthelessse they did temper them. Whereas EMPSON, and DUDLEY that followed, beeing Persons that had no Reputation with him (other-

therwise then by the seruile following of his Bent) did not giue way onely (as the first did) but shape him way to those Extremities , for which himselfe was touched with remorse at his Death, and which his Successor renounced, and sought to purge. This Excesse of his, had at that time many Glosses and Interpretations. Some thought the continuall Rebellions where-with hee had beene vexed, had made him grow to hate his People. Some thought it was done to pull downe their Stomacks, and to keepe them low. Some, for that hee would leaue his Sonne a Golden-fleece. Some suspected hee had some high Designe vpon Forraine Parts. But those perhaps shall come nearest the truth , that fetch not their reasons so farre of ; but rather impute it to Nature, Age, Peace, and a Mind fixed vpon no other Ambition or Pursuit. Whereunto I should adde, that hauing euery day Occasion, to take notice of the Necessities and Shifts for Monie of other great Princes abroad, it did the better (by Comparison) set of to him the Felicitie of full Coffers. As to his expending of Treasure, hee neuer spared Charge which his Affaires required, and in his Buildings was Magnificent, but his Rewards were very limited. So that his Liberalitie was rather vpon his owne State and Memorie , then vpon the Deserts of others. Hee

Hee was of an High Mind, and loved his owne VVill, and his owne Way; as One that reuered himselfe, and would Raigne indeed. Had hee beene a Priuate-man, hee would haue beene termed Proud. But in a Wise Prince, it was but keeping of Distance, which indeed hee did towards all; not admitting any neare or full Approach, either to his Power, or to his Secrets. For hee was gouerned by none. His Queene (notwithstanding shee had presented him with diuers Children, and with a Crowne also, (though hee would not acknowledge it) could doe nothing with him. His Mother hee reuerenced much, heard little. For any Person agreeable to him for Societie (such as was HASTINGS to King EDWARD the Fourth, or CHARLES BRANDON after to King HENRY the Eighth) hee had none: Except we should account for such Persons, FOXE, and BRAY, and EMPSON, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the Instrument is much with the Workeman. Hee had nothing in him of Vaine-glory, but yet kept State and Maiestie to the height: Beeing sensible, That Maiestie maketh the People bow, but Vaine-glory boweth to them.

To his Confederates abroad hee was Constant

stant and Iust, but not Open. But rather such was his Inquirie, and such his Closenesse, as they stood in the Light towards him, and hee stood in the Darke to them. Yet without Strargenesse, but with a semblance of mutuall Communication of Affaires. As for little Enuies, or Emulations vpon Forraine Princes (which are frequent with many Kings) hee had neuer any, but went substantially to his owne Businesse. Certaine it is, that though his Reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For Forrainers, that could not see the Passages of Affaires, but made their Iudgements vpon the Issues of them, noted that hee was euer in Strife, and euer a-Lost. It grew also from the Aires, which the Princes and States abroad receiued from their Ambassadors and Agents heere; which were attending the Court in great number. Whom hee did not onely content with Curtesie, Reward, and Priuatenesse; but (vpon such Conferences as passed with them) put them in Admiration, to finde his Vniuersall Insight into the Affaires of the World. Which though hee did sucke chiefly from themselues; yet that which hee had gathered from them all, seemed Admirable to euery one. So that they did write euer to their Superiours in high termes, concerning

cerning his Wisedome and Art of Rule. Nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintaine Intelligence with him. Such a Dexteritie hee had to impropriate to himselfe all Forraine Instruments.

Hee was carefull and liberall to obtaine good Intelligence from all parts abroad. Wherein hee did not onely vse his Interest in the Leigers here, and his Pensioners which hee had both in the Court of Rome, and other the Courts of Christendome; but the Industrie and Vigilancie of his owne Ambassadors in Forraine parts. For which purpose, his Instructions were euer Extreame, Curious, and Articulate; and in them more Articles touching Inquisition, then touching Negotiation. Requiring likewise from his Ambassadors an Answer, in particular distinct Articles, respectiuely to his Questions.

As for his secret Spialls, which hee did imploy both at home and abroad, by them to discover what Practices and Conspiracies were against him, surely his Case required it: Hee had such Moles perpetually working and casting to vndermine him. Neither can it bee reprehended. For if Spialls bee lawfull against lawfull Enemies, much more against Conspirators, and Traitors. But indeed to giue them

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Credence by Othes or Curses, that cannot bee well maintained; For those are too holy Vestments for a Disguise. Yet surely there was this further Good in his employing of these Flies and Familiars; That as the vse of them was cause that many Conspiracies were reuealed, so the Fame and Suspicion of them kept (no doubt) many Conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his Queene hee was nothing Vxorious, nor scarce Indulgent; but Com-paniable, and Respectiue, and without Iea-lousie. Towards his Children hee was full of Paternall Affection, Carefull of their Edu-cation, aspiring to their High Aduancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due Honour and Respect, but not great-ly willing to cast any Popular Lustre vpon them.

To his Councell hee did referre much, and sate oft in Person; knowing it to bee the Way to assist his Power, and informe his Iudgement. In which respect also hee was fairely patient of Libertie, both of Aduise, and of Vote, till himselfe were declared. Hee kept a strait hand on his Nobilitie, and chose rather to aduance Clergie-men and Lawyers, which were more Obsequious to him, but had

lesse Interest in the People; which made for his Absolutenesse, but not for his Safetie. In so much as (I am perswaded) it was one of the Causes of his troublesome Raigne; for that his Nobles, though they were Loyall and Obedient, yet did not Co-operate with him, but let euery man goe his owne Way. Hee was not afraid of an Able Man, as LEWIS the Eleuenth was. But contrariwise, hee was serued by the Ablest Men that were to bee found; without which his Affaires could not haue prospered as they did. For WARRE, BEDFORD, OXFORD, SURREY, DAWBENEY, BROOKE, POYNINGS. For other Affaires, MORTON, FOXE, BRAY, the Prior of Lanthony, WARHAM, VRSWICKE, HVSSEY, FROWICKE, and others. Neither did hee care how Cunning they were, that hee did imploy; For hee thought himselfe to haue the Master-Reach. And as hee chose well, so hee held them vp well. For it is a strange thing, that though hee were a Darke Prince, and infinitely Suspicious, and his Times full of Secret Conspiracies and Troubles; yet in Twentie foure yeares Raigne, hee neuer put downe, or discomposed Counsellor, or neare Seruant, saue onely STANLEY, the Lord Chamberlaine.

As

As for the Disposition of his Subiects in Generall towards him, it stood thus with him; That of the Three Affections, which naturally tie the hearts of the Subiects to their Soueraignes, Loue, Feare, and Reuerence; hee had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as hee was beholding to the other Two.

Hee was a Prince, Sad, Serious, and full of Thoughts, and secret Obseruations, and full of Notes and Memorials of his owne hand, especially touching Persons. As, whom to Employ, whom to Reward, whom to Enquire of, whom to Beware of, what were the Dependencies, what were the Factions, and the like; keeping (as it were) a Iournall of his Thoughts. There is to this day a merrie Tale; That his Monkie (set on as it was thought by one of his Chamber) tore his Principall Note-Booke all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth. Whereat the Court (which liked not those Pensive Accompts) was almost tickled with sport.

Hee was indeed full of Apprehensions and Suspitions. But as hee did easily take them, so hee did easily checke them, and master them: whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himselfe more then others. It is true; his Thoughts were so many, as they could not well

alwayes stand together ; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did hee at some times waigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that Rumour which did him so much mischief (That the Duke of Yorke should be saved, and aliue) was (at the first) of his owne nourishing ; because hee would haue more Reason not to raigne in the Right of his Wife. Hee was Affable, and both Well and Faire-spoken ; and would vse strange Sweetnesse and Blandishments of Words, where hee desired to effect or perswade any thing that hee tooke to heart. Hee was rather Studious, then Learned ; reading most Bookes that were of any worth, in the French-tongue. Yet hee vnderstood the Latine, as appeareth in that Cardinall HADRIAN, and others, who could very well haue written French, did vse to write to him in Latine.

For his Pleasures, there is no Newes of them. And yet by his Instructions to MAR-SIN, and STILE, touching the Queene of Naples, it seemeth hee could Interrogate well touching Beautie. Hee did by Pleasures, as great Princes doe by Banquets, come and looke a little vpon them, and turne away. For neuer Prince was more wholly giuen to his Affaires, nor in them more of himselfe. In so much, as
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in Triumphes of Iusts, and Tourneys, and Balles, and Masques (which they then called Disguises) hee was rather a Princely and Gentle Spectator, then seemed much to bee delighted.

No doubt, in him as in all men (and most of all in Kings) his Fortune wrought vpon his Nature, and his Nature vpon his Fortune. Hee attained to the Crowne, not onely from a priuate Fortune, which might indow him with Moderation; but also from the Fortune of an Exiled Man, which had quickned in him all Seedes of Obseruation and Industrie. And his Times being rather Prosperous, then Calme, had raised his Confidence by Successes, but almost marred his Nature by Troubles. His Wisdome, by often euading from Perils, was turned rather into a Dexteritie to deliuer himselfe from Dangers, when they pressed him, then into a Prouidence to preuent and remooue them a farre of. And euen in Nature, the Sight of his Minde was like some Sights of Eyes; rather strong at hand, then to carrie a farre of. For his Witt increased vpon the Occasion; and so much the more, if the Occasion were sharpened by Danger. Againe, whether it were the shortnesse of his Fore-sight, or the strength of his Will, or the dazeling of

of his Suspitions, or what it was; Certaine it is, that the perpetuall Troubles of his Fortunes (there being no more matter out of which they grew) could not haue beene without some great Defects, and mayne Errours in his Nature, Customes, and Proceedings, which he had enough to doe to saue and helpe, with a thousand little Industries and Watches. But those doe best appeare in the Storie it selfe. Yet take him with all his Defects, if a Man should compare him with the Kings his Concurrents, in France and Spaine, he shall find him more Politique then LEWIS the twelfth of France, and more Entire and Sincere then FERDINANDO of Spaine. But if you shall change LEWIS the twelfth, for LEWIS the Eleuenth, who liued a little before; then the Consort is more perfect. For that LEWIS the Eleuenth, FERDINANDO, and HENRY, may bee esteemed for the Tres Magi of Kings of those Ages. To conclude, If this King did no greater Matters, it was long of himselfe; for what he minded, he compassed.

Hee was a Comely Personage, a little above Iust Stature, well and straight limmed, but slender. His Countenance was Reuerend, and a little like a Church-man: And as it was not strange or darke, so neyther was it.

Win-

Winning or Pleasing, but as the Face of one well disposed. But it was to the Disadvantage of the Painter; for it was best when hee spake.

His Worth may beare a Tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seeme Diuine. When the Ladie MARGARET his Mother had diuers great Sutors for Marriage, she dreamed one Night, That one in the likenesse of a Bishop in Pontificall habit, did tender her EDMUND Earle of Richmond (the Kings Father) for her Husband, Neither had she euer any Child but the King, though she had three Husbards. One day when King HENRY the Sixth (whose Innocencie gaue him Holines) was washing his hands at a great Feast, and cast his Eye vpon King HENRY, then a young Youth, he said; This is the Lad, that shall possesse quietly that, that we now strue for. But that that was truely Diuine in him, was that he had the Fortune of a True Christian, aswell as of a Great King, in living Exercised, and dying Repentant. So as hee had an happie Warrefare in both Conflicts, both of Sinne, and the Crosse.

Hee was borne at Pembroke Castle, and lyeth buried at Westminster, in one of the Stateliest and Dainiest Monuments
of

of Europe, both for the Chappell, and for the Sepulcher. So that hee dwelleth more richly Dead, in the Monument of his Tombe, then hee did Aliue in Richmond, or any of his Palaces. I could wish hee did the like, in this Monument of his Fame.

FINIS.

Faults escaped.

Pag. 59. lin. 15. *read*, The nature of the times. Pag. 80. lin. 34. *read* was not cleare on either side. Pag. 90. lin. 20. *read*, resolved to make his profit. Pag. 101. lin. 7. *read*, couched, *for* touched. Pag. 122. lin. 6. *read*, If they found. Pag. 139. lin. 26. *read*, and to make demonstration. Pag. 184. lin. 17. *read*, which shee enjoyed.
